THE NATION

SEPTEMBER 1, 1962 . . 25c

LABOR AND LEISURE

I

Labor's Ebbing Strength

George Kirstein

II

Leisure in an Automated World

Georges Friedmann

THE SINGLE-MINDED GIRL

Eve Merriam

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS

What Caused the Famine?

Dear Sirs: Perhaps it would be too much to expect from a banker that he exhibit any extended understanding, or even graciousness, toward 100 million people struggling to enter the modern world as their own masters, and doing this on severely limited rations. I refer to "The Great Leap Backward," by Reed J. Irvine (*The Nation*, Aug. 11). His general tone is in especially bad taste for one sitting atop the world's hugest surplus of food grains.

Furthermore, it would seem that Mr. Irvine all but completely misses the point of present and immediately past organizational forms in New China. Certainly it is only these forms that have enabled the great Chinese people to stave off the million-fold deaths from starvation that were common after only one season of drought, flood, or other reason for crop failure in the bad old days. And the recent crop failures stretched over three years.

Perhaps Mr. Irvine is privy to intelligence sources not available to this correspondent, but a number of his flat statements ("Morale in the country has been seriously lowered.") seem of extreme dubiety. Another such statement is to the effect that "The shortage of consumer goods has *evidently* dampened the enthusiasm of peasants as well as workers for increased labor." Love that "evidently"! RALPH IZARD

San Francisco, Calif.

Dear Sirs: "The Great Leap Backward," is a well-reasoned and unemotional presentation of Washington views on China's present economic situation. Concerning the accuracy of Mr. Irvine's factual data I am not in a position to give an opinion. There is one point of psychological interpretation, however, on which I believe he is profoundly wrong. He writes concerning the communes:

> It seems likely that the decentralization process will have to go much further . . . if the incentives of the Chinese peasant are to be rekindled. Sharing responsibility and income in a group consisting of twenty-five to thirty households is not likely to bring out the drive and sacrifice that is required to maximize labor productivity.

Americans take for granted that . . . a good football player is always ready to sacrifice his personal glory so that the team as a whole will win. Why is it then that we cannot visualize similar group cooperation in the economic sphere? What I saw of the beginnings of the present government in China in 1949, and everything that has been told to me by visitors who have been there since, confirms the fact that . . . the idea of working together as a group so as to create a better society, in place of the idea of working alone for one's private benefit, has been a tremendously exhilarating and liberating force. Until we Americans realize that man does not necessarily live through selfishness alone, and that, given a different kind of social environment, it is possible for large numbers of individuals to be fired by an ideal which is larger than themselves, we shall never understand the meaning of the revolution taking place in China, Cuba, and other countries throughout the world.

Philadelphia, Pa. DERKE BODDE
Professor of Chinese
University of Pennsylvania

Dear Sirs: While attempting to place all the blame for the failure on the leadership capabilities and bureaucratic bungling of the Chinese, Mr. Irvine makes the following incredible statement: "This is not to deny that in recent years the climatic conditions in China may have been something less than ideal." Indeed.

The year 1959 was the beginning of a continual devastation of the country by climatic conditions. In 1959 almost one-third of the sown area suffered from drought or floods (against one-sixth in 1958). The harvest, however, was 10 per cent larger than the all-time record of 1958. 1960 was the worst year in a century for destructive weather conditions. Drought affected almost every province. . . . Floods and typhoons hit twenty provinces. . . . In all, some 60 million hectares of land suffered. Against this the acreage under grain crops was increased by 11 million hectares or over 10 per cent and the harvest was thus as large as in 1958.

This year drought has been reported from Chang Tung, Honan and Hupeh, typhoons and torrential rains from Kwang Tung Fukien, and hail and snow from a wide area between the Yellow and Yangtze Rivers. . . . Failures and regrettable mistakes are in evidence throughout the agricultural community, but to write off the disastrous effects of climatic conditions shows something less than the academic honesty one would certainly expect from a member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System. PHILLIP ABBOTT LUCE

New York City

Dear Sirs: Mr. Luce appears to have missed the point of my article, which was to suggest that there are good reasons to believe that the Chinese claims of climatic disaster which he cites were grossly exaggerated if not fabricated. REED J. IRVINE

Washington, D.C.

(*Continued on Page 100*)

In This Issue

EDITORIAL

81 ●

ARTICLES

83 ● Basic Research for Peace
by DONALD N. MICHAEL

86 ● Labor's Ebbing Strength
by GEORGE KIRSTEIN

89 ● Leisure in an Automated World
by GEORGES FRIEDMANN

92 ● The Single-Minded Girl
by EVE MERRIAM

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

94 ● The Country Squire and the Hero
by MICHAEL LEWIS

94 ● 'I Want to Live' (poem)
by CLAYTON ESHLEMAN

95 ● Military Thinking on Peace
by RAYMOND FLETCHER

96 ● 'Pity the Giants'
by HARVEY CURTIS WEBSTER

97 ● Current Titles of Interest to Nation Readers

98 ● The Notorious Parent
by NEWTON ARVIN

98 ● Letter from Wales
by RALPH MAUD

99 ● Parlor Car Beer (poem)
by EDWARD DORN

Crossword Puzzle (opp. 100)
by FRANK W. LEWIS

George G. Kirstein, Publisher
Carey McWilliams, Editor
Victor H. Bernstein, Managing Editor
Robert Hatch, Books and the Arts
Marion Hess, Assistant to the Editors

Harold Clurman, Theatre
Max Kozloff, Art
Benjamin Boretz, Music
Carl Dreher, Science
Paul Blackburn, Poetry

Jane Stolle, United Nations Correspondent
Alexander Werth, European Correspondent

Mary Simon, Advertising Manager

The Nation, Sept. 1, 1962. Vol. 195, No. 5

The Nation published weekly (except in July and August, when biweekly) by The Nation Company and copyright 1962 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York, 14, N.Y. Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Tel.: CH 2-3400.

Subscription Price Domestic—One year $8, Two years $14, Three years $20. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1962
VOLUME 195, No. 5

THE NATION

EDITORIALS

The Powder Keg

The West Berlin gangs which have been rioting in reaction to the barbarous death of the East German youth in the shadow of the wall undoubtedly include some honest idealists, but they are largely composed of neo-Fascists and the other brawling hoodlums who, in every country (including the United States), find their greatest joy in stoning someone. They are the pristine mobmen. Cabling from Berlin on August 21 to the New York *Herald Tribune,* Gaston Coblentz reported a feeling in the West Berlin press that "the demonstrations of the last few days took on in their most recent phase more and more of a rowdy character, with the less desirable part of the city's youth playing an excessively important role."

This would all be local and unimportant, were it not a symptom of a graver problem—the deadlock of the great powers over Germany, with Berlin as a focus. And because the problem is of this scope and amplitude, local actions, such as the protests and counter-protests of U.S. Commandant Maj. Gen. Albert Watson and Soviet Commandant Col. P. V. Siganov (whose post just last week was abolished, as a new pressure tactic in the cold-war campaign over Berlin), are merely surface treatment. Nor are the colloquies of the more puissant Secretary Rusk and Ambassador Dobrynin likely to prove more fruitful. Mr. Rusk may exhort Mr. Dobrynin to urge Mr. Khrushchev to request Herr Ulbricht to order his janizaries to be more humane, but the fact is that the East German rulers find a certain amount of terror expedient, if not absolutely necessary, under the circumstances. And while the rights and wrongs of the situation are being assessed, Mr. Dobrynin may remind Mr. Rusk that the wall did not go up until the West, subsidizing West Berlin as a "showcase" to the tune of about five hundred million dollars a year, had siphoned out of East Germany a large and debilitating segment of its professionals and skilled workers, with the allure of gracious living.

In the meantime the West Germans are feeling their oats more and more. Dr. Adenauer demands "quick action"— not, of course, by his own forces in West Germany, but by the four occupying powers in Berlin, i.e., the three who are on his side. German newspapers are demanding that Gen. Lucius D. Clay, whose famed firmness is much to their liking, be returned posthaste to Berlin. Providentially, General Clay is in West Germany at this period of crisis.

Obviously the situation is a threat to the peace and, as such, it should be laid before the United Nations. The U.N. is always appealed to when no one knows what else to do, and that is precisely what it is for. Nothing could be lost by instructing the U.S. delegation to try its hand at settling this protracted wrangle; it could not do worse than those who have worked at it up to now. According to information emanating from Moscow, Mr. Khrushchev is contemplating a trip to the U.N. General Assembly this fall. The U.S. press seems to regard this prospect with horror, fearing that the Soviet statesman will bang his shoe on the desk. But the desk can be re-varnished, and the American people might get both sides of the controversy in the ensuing melee. Not least, both sides would, or should, welcome a chance to get out of their deadlock without intolerable loss of face.

Terra Incognita in Space

When the United States proposed to explode a nuclear device at high altitude, some scientists in this country, and many abroad, protested vehemently. One argument was that the electronic effects might distort the Van Allen radiation belts before they could be studied in their original state. Dr. Van Allen threw his own great influence against this foreboding and silenced

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the critics. He called it a "splendid experiment." After two failures, the bomb was exploded over Johnston Island on July 9 with spectacular aurora borealis displays and no apparent effect on the belts.

Soon after launching Maj. Andrian G. Nikolayev into orbit on August 11, the Soviet Union sent a diplomatic note to the United States requesting that no explosion be set off during the flight, lest the astronaut be harmed. We complied, but the State Department added that the Soviet request was obviously made for propaganda purposes. If State had checked with AEC and NASA, it might have been less sure. In its August 6 issue, *Aviation Week* had carried a story titled, "Soviet Tests Cited as Peril to MA-8 Pilot," referring to the six-orbit flight by Commander Walter M. Schirra scheduled for September 18 and later put off to September 25 or early October.

Then followed an even more disconcerting development. On August 19 Dr. Van Allen announced that a new, low-lying radiation belt had been created by the July 9 explosion which "had increased the potential danger for manned space flights" and that possible radiation peril to astronauts "needs to be explored in detail in order to determine effects on Project Mercury flights." The flights might have to be delayed. There was also a possibility that Nikolayev and his fellow astronaut, Lieut. Col. Pavel R. Popovich, might have been exposed, but this seemed unlikely, since on July 28 the Soviet Union had launched an unmanned scientific satellite at the same angle with the equator as that of the astronauts, and had probably decided that the Nikolayev-Popovich flight paths were safe.

One can only conclude that the best scientific minds are able only to surmise what will happen when such experiments as that of July 9 are carried out. In any other field, they would be deferred until more was known of the possible effects. The impulsions of the cold war—these are military experiments and any scientific results are purely a by-product—relieve scientists of their normal caution. As for the State Department, it fails to take advantage of information released to the trade papers and certainly available, earlier and in greater detail, to a senior department of the Executive. This may make for greater freedom in fabrication of propaganda, but the end-results are lugubrious.

Symington vs. Humphrey

One would have to go back to the days of Joe McCarthy to find a legislative spectacle more shameful than the manhandling of former Treasury Secretary George M. Humphrey by Senator Stuart Symington on Friday, August 17. To state the case for Symington first, the investigation per se was thoroughly in order. It established — insofar as so intensely political a proceeding can be said to establish anything — that the M. A. Hanna group did very well in its relations with the government; nor did Mr. Humphrey suffer personally. He held onto his stock while serving as Secretary, and it increased in value by almost $6 million; dividends amounted to more than $2.4 million. His son, Gilbert M. Humphrey, profited almost as handsomely. Without going into ramifications, one may conclude that what Mr. Humphrey told General Eisenhower — that the American businessman "believes in getting as much as he can while the getting is good" — applies to Mr. Humphrey himself. What else could be expected? One does not become chief executive of a group of companies like M. A. Hanna unless one is sagacious, bold and prehensile. And, as far as one can judge at this juncture, it was all done legally and in accordance with the accepted mores of business and politics.

It is also true that, particularly at the August 16 hearing, Mr. Humphrey, from his pre-eminent position in a pecuniary civilization, treated the members of the committee in a somewhat cavalier and patronizing fashion. He knew more than they did and was at no pains to conceal it. But this was merely a question of manners and the Senators were perfectly free to admonish the witness if they felt offended.

Nothing that Mr. Humphrey did, nothing that he said, can excuse in the slightest degree the brutal treatment which was meted out to him the following day. That it was insulting and injurious to the witness is not as important as that it prejudiced the rights of every American citizen and further marred the American image abroad. James Reston, in a brilliant column in the August 19 *New York Times*, referred to this episode when he wrote, "Scarcely a week passes now that some capricious, unfair or dictatorial personal act does not stain the reputation of the Congress of the United States." In this respect Senator Symington transcended all the rest. He rode roughshod over the Republican members of the committee as well as the witness, and gave a memorable exhibition of what Walt Whitman called "the arrogance of elected persons."

When one considers Mr. Symington's record, one could expect little else. He sat at McCarthy's side in the palmiest days of the Communist witch hunt as coadjutant inquisitor, and there he learned the lesson that the witness has no rights when he is in the committee room and his recourse, if any, comes years later in the courts. Handsome, half-smiling in anticipation, he would invariably ask the alleged Communist or fellow traveler whether he believed in God. The moral is that the tyranny which is exercised on the lowliest citizen, Communist or otherwise, can and will be exercised on the highest sooner or later. If everyone is not entitled to justice, no one can be sure of it. If anyone was not sure of this principle, Senator Symington resolved all doubts on August 17.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

U Thant and the Congo

The United States takes so many pratfalls in the international arena that its good deeds should not go unrecorded. Currently, it is supporting Secretary U Thant of the United Nations in his efforts to bring a semblance of order into the chaotic affairs of the Congo. As much cannot be said of the Belgian and British parliamentarians and financiers who control the Union Minière du Haut Katanga which, in turn, is in cahoots with Moise Tshombe and his cabinet—"those clowns," U Thant called them. In the eyes of Senator Thomas J. Dodd, Tshombe is one of the world's great statesmen, standing between the Congo and communism. U Thant's seems the more realistic view.

"At the risk of oversimplification," U Thant observes, "I may say that the problem of the Congo is now the problem of Katanga, and the problem of Katanga is the problem of finances; and the problem of finances is, in turn, the problem of Union Minière." He then goes on to point out that for years, under Belgian rule, the Union Minière and the other big mining company, Tanganyika Concessions, paid taxes to the central government of the Congo, and when the Congo became independent in July, 1960, it was agreed between the companies and the new government that the same practice was to be continued. The agreement was immediately violated, and the revenues went to Elizabethville, the capital of Katanga. "All that the United Nations has been trying to do," U Thant continues, ". . . was to honor the agreement arrived at between the Belgian Government and the Central Congolese Government at the time of the transfer of power. If this practice can be resumed, then it will be the end of most of the problems which we are facing in the Congo."

The latest report from Elizabethville is that Tshombe may be willing to accept federal status and give up part of the Katanga revenues to the central government. He does not say what part, nor is there any assurance that he will not say the opposite tomorrow. Moreover, an *Observer* (London) story of August 5 reports that Union Minière has made a new arrangement with Tshombe under which he will receive some 20 million pounds sterling in exchange reserves by an under-the-counter arrangement agreeable to both sides. As soon as copper, cobalt, germanium and other outgoing metals cross the Katanga frontier, the company will be called on to pay 75 per cent of the value in convertible currency, equivalent to about 65 per cent of the eventual sale value. At this rate, Tshombe will never want, and his hand in negotiations with the central government is further strengthened.

The Conservative government in England is having its own internal struggles, with the British board members of the Union Minière and Tanganyika Concessions speaking through Foreign Minister Home for good old reliable Tshombe, while Senator Dodd extols him in the United States. But Senator Dodd is only one Senator, and many other Americans know the score in this matter. Only U.S. backing for U Thant can prevail on England and Belgium to persuade Tshombe to return to the Congo, together with his cash income. No one else can do it.

BASIC RESEARCH FOR PEACE . . *Donald N. Michael*

> In order to do a special study, we trained up a team of highly specialized young scholars with extraordinary combinations of skills in mathematics and statistics, Chinese and Russian languages, political science, psychology and computer disciplines. It took the better part of six months to put this team together, and with funds we could have kept them at work on problems of disarmament, international crises, alternatives to war and the like. As it is, we have had to terminate nearly all of them and scatter the research team to the four winds.
>
> The irony is that during the period of disorganization I was asked to consult with several peace groups and individuals who wanted dreadfully to "do something" *right now* about the frightening state of world affairs—but not to contribute or raise funds for basic research into the processes of conflict and integration—how wars break out and grow and how laws and institutions take root. These same people complain about the vast sums of money being spent on missile research and development, but they cannot perceive that alternatives to war may require something more than good intentions, may indeed require large-scale financial support for a parallel kind of research and development.

IN THESE two paragraphs in a letter to the author, a distinguished scholar sums up the problems and purposes of peace research. This article will examine both in more detail.

In the last few years, there has gradually grown a new state of mind in some whose profession it is to study man's individual behavior and that of his institutions. What once were, for example, simply studies in international affairs, political science and the psychology of decision-making are now viewed, in a few

DONALD N. MICHAEL, a social psychologist, is director of Planning and Programs of the Peace Research Institute. The opinions he expresses in this article do not necessarily reflect those of the Institute or of any other organization with which he is affiliated.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

quarters, as peace research. In the past, scholars in these fields might have been motivated to seek knowledge and understanding, or to improve our capability for conducting world affairs in traditional ways. Today, the professional peace researchers seek to discover the criteria and conditions for viable alternatives to the looming annihilation toward which traditional perspectives and operating styles are driving the world.

Given this state of mind, the range of studies defined as peace research is steadily broadening and interdisciplinary studies have blossomed in what were traditionally the special, usually non-overlapping, provinces of the students of international law, the psychology of behavior under stress, arms-control inspection and so on. Joint effort—or at least the awareness of the need for joint effort—is the methodological order of the day. Evidence of this is found in the above-quoted letter from a political scientist—and in the growing number of summer seminars, study groups and working conferences, such as that sponsored in 1960-61 by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the special seminar on disarmament in 1960-61 held at the California Institute of Technology, the disarmament seminar composed of Harvard and MIT scholars which is now in its third year, and the arms-control seminar which meets regularly in Washington.

AN illuminating example of the multi-disciplinary approach is a research program on the meanings of "deterrence," supported by the Naval Ordnance Test Station at China Lake, California. Working on grants from NOTS, historians, mathematicians, psychologists, anthropologists and physicists in several universities are gradually evolving a systematic understanding of the assets and liabilities of deterrence as a generalized concept and, thereby, the extent of its applicability for helping to attain a reasonable state of world affairs. (This example is also important in that it demonstrates an underlying difference of opinion in the research community. Some scholars feel that peace research is by definition never undertaken by the military and that such studies should have nothing to do with weapons of any sort, even if they are part of a carefully planned carrot-and-stick approach. They would therefore not accept the NOTS program as being part of the peace-research effort. But other researchers feel that, given the state of our present ignorance about plausible alternatives to annihilation, such studies are necessary and can be usefully applied to other problem areas as well.)

Whatever philosophy is emphasized, there are, in fact, only a few organizations established for the specific purpose of conducting research on peace, though there are a number doing related studies: the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Institute for International Order in New York, the Center of International Studies at Princeton, the Center for International Affairs at Harvard, the Center for International Studies at MIT, the Institute of War and Peace Studies at Columbia, the Institute for Defense Analyses in Washington, RAND and the Hudson Institute. Organizations established specifically to do or support peace research include the Center for the Study of Conflict Resolution at the University of Michigan, which also publishes the highly professional *Journal of Conflict Resolution*; the Committee on Research in International Conflict at Washington University in St. Louis; some of the work of the Research Foundation at Colorado State University, and the Peace Research Institute in Washington. Small groups of informally organized researchers are to be found at a number of universities and in a few private organizations; some professional groups, notably in the legal and psychological disciplines, are also active.

And, of course, there is the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. (It's worth noting that while ACDA will study many aspects of arms control and disarmament, its responsibility for providing a basis for negotiations means that there will be strong pressures to emphasize short-term, immediate pay-off research rather than long-term; and for a variety of reasons it will be slow to emphasize political, psychological or sociological studies.)

In Europe there are the Institute for Strategic Studies in England, the Institute for Social Research in Oslo, and a few other groups in France and Denmark. And there is the newly formed Canadian Peace Research Institute [see "Task Force for Peace," by David Spurgeon, *The Nation*, May 26].

IN SPITE of the impressive titles and the number of interested groups, these peace-research facilities (even including ACDA) are pitifully financed and pitifully small. The reasons are several, and they say much about the present state of private peace research and the limits on its future possibilities. Money is perhaps the greatest single limitation. At present, efficient peace research needs only relatively modest funding. Nevertheless, the disparity seems disproportionate between the billions spent on military research and the $6 million proposed budget (fiscal 1963) for ACDA, overwhelmingly the best-financed peace-research effort.

What makes peace-research people bitter and discouraged is not the lack of large-scale financing, but rather the fact that there are no reliable and easy sources of funds to cover projects that may cost from $2,000 to $200,000. It is in this range, and particularly at its lower end, that fundamental contributions can be made. And for this situation, individuals and organizations directly involved in peace action (as contrasted with peace research) must shoulder much of the blame. In their preoccupation with immediate "action," most of them continue to overlook the imperative need for future action programs based on systematically derived and validated knowledge.

The fact that it takes ten years, an army of scientists and engineers and a large bureaucracy to develop a weapons system, and that it will take at least the same order of time to develop the ideas and knowledge needed for evolving peaceful alternatives, has yet to stimulate these groups to support research on an adequate scale.

The picture is not wholly discouraging, however. A few peace action groups, for example the Fellowship

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

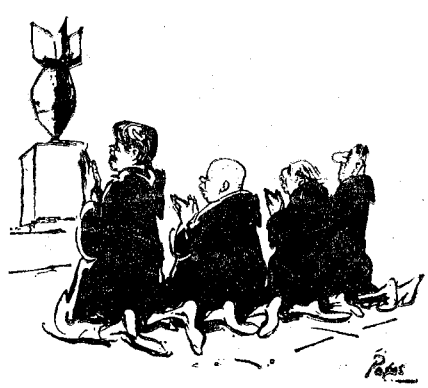
of Reconciliation and the American Friends Service Committee, have cautiously begun to support small studies. The Canadian Peace Research Institute is sufficiently optimistic to be mounting a grass-roots fund-raising campaign on its own behalf, and is basing it on the assumption that funds will be forthcoming from peace action groups in that country.

So far they have managed to collect some $250,000; how much more they can tap remains to be seen. The big foundations so far have not arranged their programs to encourage peace research as such, but an ingenious researcher can sometimes translate his particular project into one which does fit the going programs of the foundations. And there are some smaller foundations whose purposes, in principle at least, admirably lend themselves to the support of peace research. But the foundations, big or little, grind slowly. All in all, funds from all sources have been too small and too slow in materializing to meet the growing need.

THE PRESENT and future of peace research is not entirely a matter of money. There are scholars in the universities and industry doing studies which have profound significance for peace action, but who are not aware of the implications of their studies for this area. There are also scholars unaware that there are crucial problems needing study which would interest them professionally. Away from Washington, the subtleties and ramifications of the endless problems which must be solved, if we are to work our way out from the present maze into a reasonably sensible world, never reach much of the research community. Even a *Nation* reader would be hard put to understand, for example, that a major unsolved problem in a weapons-control inspection system is: how does one nation go about providing highly convincing information that it is doing what it says it is to an opponent who distrusts it deeply? It isn't only the paranoid who can read malevolent intent into charitable actions. To the scholar not intimately informed about arms-inspection problems, it is unlikely that the variety of profoundly important basic- and applied-research projects implied in this question would be evident.

Also, many scholars are under the impression that finding solutions to major problems requires secret information. In fact, most of those with access to classified information deny this. Thus, for example, important contributions to the systematic study of means for recruiting, maintaining, training, controlling and using an international police force can be made without any secret information, and yet this problem so far has received very little attention. This applies also to the profoundly important area of decision-making in crisis (though here familiarity with the Washington scene and access to discrete, if not classified, information would be necessary for checking out theoretical formulations).

To help close this gap in appreciation of what needs study, the Institute for International Order commissioned and published in 1960-61 five documents outlining many of the problems in need of research: *The Technical Problems of Arms Control, Economic Factors Bearing Upon the Maintenance of Peace, The International Rule of Law, National and International Decision-Making,* and *Communication and Values in Relation to War and Peace.* These and the journal *Current Thought on Peace and War* (originally started by IIO and now independently incorporated and struggling for lack of funds), along with the new Peace Research Institute in Washington, now provide much of the broad-range professional background materials for alerting the potentially interested peace researcher. But in the professional research community, there is still too little understanding of what needs study: and for this reason, too, there is a shortage of good people doing peace research.



One uncomfortable and crucial question is whether the findings from peace-research studies will be applied in any systematic manner. Even the recommendations of RAND and other "hard-nosed" contributions to the prevailing approach to world affairs are not always applied. Bits and pieces of studies are used, and occasionally large chunks of programs; but research findings as such serve chiefly as swords or shields in internecine battles for power and appropriations. Peace-research products can hardly expect more careful or sympathetic attention or application. In fact, the hurdles are higher, since much peace research heavily involves the social sciences, which are still thought intellectually dubious—in some cases rightly—by leaders and decision-makers in government, private institutions and peace action organizations. However, in other cases the findings are solid and crucial. Indeed, sometimes the findings so decisively challenge favored viewpoints or beliefs that the information is, and will be, used only reluctantly or be suppressed or ignored —whether those who should use it be devout counterforce proponents or unilateral disarmers.

INDEED, THE very people who should be most eager to use the findings from social science in general and peace research in particular, namely the peace action groups, seldom use what already is known. Rather than basing their case on validated studies and research about human behavior in crisis, the characteristics of nations, their weapon systems, their values, etc., many action-oriented groups rely chiefly on emotion-based arguments. This is not to say that such appeals do not have power, but rather that knowledge now available from peace research and related studies is not used effectively by the very groups who should make the most of it.

This is not a new state of affairs in the ways of human action, but it is a particularly disturbing and inadequate approach to peace action. Grass-roots support is needed and is impressive in governmental eyes; but in the end only by using the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

formal knowledge we have, and only by increasing that knowledge, will the peace movement develop the sophisticated arguments which can move leaders of government, inspire members of Congress and encourage private-opinion leaders to support the positions espoused.

It is by no means clear at this time that the peace-research effort will grow strongly enough and in a sufficiently organized fashion to provide information fast enough to contribute significantly to a way out of the present terror. It will take much money and time. If we haven't the time, it doesn't matter. If we do have time, those committed to developing a peaceful world cannot afford to leave the support or conduct of peace research to someone else. It's chiefly their job to support this effort. Professional competence is needed. Sympathetic and sophisticated understanding of the role and utility of research is needed from those who cannot themselves do it. Those who wonder what they personally can do to help in the search for peace might well consider contributing hard cash for the hard study which seeks answers to the world's most pressing problem.

LABOR'S EBBING STRENGTH . . *George Kirstein*

THE ANNUAL paeans for organized labor's contribution to our society will ring forth next week from Detroit's Cadillac Square and from the editorial pages of a thousand newspapers in the customary manner and in the volume consonant with an election year. Labor's "statesmen" will be cited; labor's political strength will be hailed. No sour notes will be struck about the fight of the railroad brotherhoods for survival, and Jimmy Hoffa's uneuphonious name will barely be mentioned. But, in truth, sour notes should be the main theme of this oratorical occasion, for labor's power and prestige have sunk in 1962 to a depth unequaled since World War II.

Union membership, continuing its descending curve, has shrunk to new lows for the last twenty-five years; still worse, perhaps, the enlistment of new members has ground to a frustrated halt on almost all fronts. We are no longer treated even to promises of the perennial "Crusade in the South," or anywhere else for that matter. If we look at the present labor scene without benefit of the politician's rose-colored glasses or the editorial writer's once-a-year dedication to the worker's cause, what do we see?

In New York, a Congressional Committee is conducting hearings on charges that the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union discriminates in various ways against its Negro and Puerto Rican members. The committee intends to investigate other "nefarious conditions," including alleged racketeering in the industry. The ILGWU, which is the main financial support of the Liberal Party, claims that these hearings, being conducted by a Democratic Congressman who failed to win Liberal Party endorsement, are "political blackmail." Whether or not the investigation will damage the union, the fact is that its aging leadership assumed office years ago, when Jewish and Italian needle workers completely dominated the work force in this industry. Today, these ethnic groups have been largely replaced by Negro and Puerto Rican workers who feel that they have little in common with the entrenched officials.

Frictions within this union were publicized in another way recently when the business agents employed by the ILGWU organized into a separate union and demanded recognition. The ILGWU leadership refused to bargain with the business agents, and the dispute went to the NLRB, which recently handed down a decision in favor of the agents. To those who study the indices of unions' political power, this setback for the ILGWU must be a shocker. Imagine the phone calls, the trips to Washington, the heart-rending pleas to reciprocate past favors that must have preceded this decision. Following the ruling, the ILGWU leadership took advertisements in local newspapers, reminiscent of the messages usually contrived by besieged employers, disputing the NLRB decision and citing AFL-CIO support for its stand. Here, then, is one of America's leading unions, beset from outside and torn from within on Labor Day, 1962.

But the plight of the ILGWU, serious though it may be, is insignificant when compared to the life-or-death struggle that faces the railroad brotherhoods. The hard-pressed railroads are preparing to wage the long-delayed battle to eliminate the unneeded workers and scrap the outdated work rules that have added mounting labor cost to their other tribulations in recent years. At stake in one major bloc are the jobs of some 40,000 firemen who are no longer needed now that diesel locomotion has replaced the old coal-fed engines. While legal maneuvering will delay the showdown for a couple of months more, the brotherhoods have little to celebrate next week.

UNDER normal circumstances, the one bright promise in labor's future might be the growth and expansion of the Teamsters. Automation and mechanization have not taken their toll in this industry as they have in almost all others. More and more trucks use the ever-expanding highway system, and more and more men are required to drive them. Against labor's declining trend, the Teamsters are growing in membership and wealth. But success will not be permitted to spoil Jimmy Hoffa. Indictment after indictment piles up

GEORGE KIRSTEIN was the Executive Secretary of the National War Labor Board during part of World War II and is the author of Stores and Unions (*Fairchild*).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

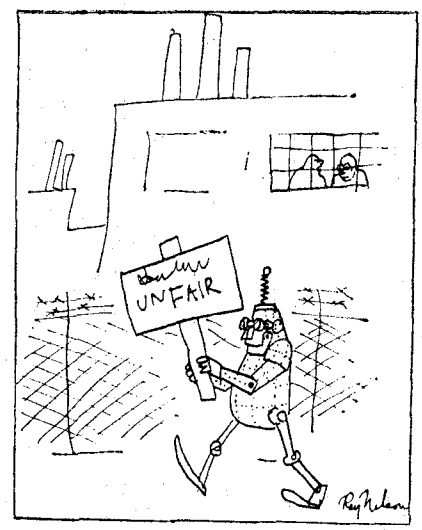
around the head of the beleaguered Teamsters' president; he is hardly acquitted of one criminal charge before he is accused of two more. In what is generally conceded to be a personal vendetta, the Attorney General of the United States pursues Hoffa from courtroom to courtroom. It is probably only a question of time before one of the many agencies of government which are competing in their pursuit of Hoffa bring him tumbling from his uneasy perch. But with or without Hoffa, this union promises to be the single exception to a trend that is sapping labor's economic and political strength.

CURIOUSLY enough, it is at this time of obvious weakness that a strident clamor is arising for further shackles to labor's strength. *Life* magazine, in its June 29 issue, voiced this chorus in a full-page editorial appropriately titled "Let's Put Teeth into the Labor Laws." In a thousand fighting words, *Life* demanded a crack-down, and warned that in dealing with labor disputes "persuasion is not enough." Not long before *Life's* plea, the Solicitor General of the United States, Archibald Cox, had urged an audience of lawyers to consider new methods of resolving industrial disputes without strikes. One would think that our economy was being brought to a halt by a rash of stoppages. The fact is that strike idleness in the first five months of this year, although higher than in 1961, was less than in either of the last two years of President Eisenhower's administration. The cries for restrictive legislation, by no means limited to the two samples cited, are additional evidence of labor's falling prestige.

Why has labor descended from yesteryear's heroic struggle for higher wages and better working conditions to the rear-guard holding actions that characterize today's scene? The answer is that manual labor, particularly the unskilled labor of the production line, is becoming a national surplus as permanent as the wheat and other grains that glut the nation's storage bins. The great industrial unions in auto production, steel and textiles decline in membership as the machine replaces man in the manufacturing process. This is scarcely a startling observation; we have been witnessing this union erosion for the past decade. What few observers recognize, however, is that because of it the objective of organized labor has changed from a constant improvement of wages and working conditions to the liquidation of members' jobs in an orderly way. Not wages but pensions are at issue; not hiring rates but termination pay is the subject of dispute; not vacations but lay-off procedures occupy the attention of negotiators.

John L. Lewis, one of America's greatest labor leaders, was forced, by circumstances within the coal industry, to set the pattern that other union leaders are now following. As machinery replaced men in the mines, and the union's rolls decreased each year, Lewis negotiated a welfare plan based on royalties on each ton of coal, whether it was mined by men or machines. This strategy did not save the miners' jobs, but it prevented the retreat from becoming a rout. Other labor leaders, challenged by similar developments, have adopted variations of the same policy. Harry Bridges, once the storm center of the San Francisco waterfront, capitulated to the future last year by agreeing to eliminate men on the job in return for financial consideration for those displaced by the machines. Harvey Swados described what this accommodation has meant in human terms in a detailed article in *Dissent* last fall, "West Coast Waterfront — End of an Era." As each of yesterday's militant labor leaders is molded by technological progress into a labor "statesman," the process of union decline moves on its sober course. The union becomes the accomplice, no matter how unwillingly, of the machinery-minded employer determined to reduce his work force.

THE official doctrine, embraced by the Kennedy Administration and echoed by the financial community, is that if somehow capital were to be invested in industrial facilities, employment would increase. According to this argument, business, through tax concessions, more sympathetic depreciation schedules and allied encouragements, should be persuaded to modernize plant and equipment. Production would then rise and



Labor's Daily

"You and Your Automation!"

employment would pick up. In my opinion, nothing could be further from the truth. Does anyone seriously believe, for example, that the steel industry—which has been operating chronically below capacity and sometimes for extended periods at only one-half optimum output—would add new plants and new employees if capital were made available? On the contrary, present plants would be modernized, mechanized and automated so that less and less manpower would be required for the same productive capacity. Industry, if capital were more readily available, would invest it to eliminate jobs, not to create them. This would certainly improve the profit picture, but it is difficult to see how it would pump new blood into the unions. A similar situation has developed with the investment of large capital sums to renovate office buildings and apartment houses. Invariably, a major step in such improvements is to replace attendant-operated elevators by passenger-operated ones. In New York alone thousands of elevator operators have been displaced, and we will not have to live much longer to remember the "elevator boy" with the same nostalgia that now surrounds the blacksmith.

In human terms, there is nothing sad about the disappearance of repetitive and in some instances dangerous jobs. Anyone who, years ago, heard John L. Lewis thunder against the mine owners for endangering their fellow men will hardly weep now that fewer and fewer miners are

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

required to brave these dangers. That an ever-diminishing number of auto workers is needed to perform the repetitious tasks which Charlie Chaplin mimicked so hilariously in *Modern Times* should be no cause for sorrow. Nor would it be, if other means of livelihood were available to the workers so displaced. But that is exactly the rub. The displaced miner in West Virginia and the displaced auto worker in Detroit find no other way to support their families than to stand in a long line outside the employment office and then in a longer line outside the state relief agency.

IS THERE an alternative to the job erosion that results when man's hand is replaced by mechanization and his brain by automation? If there is, far more ingenious men than this commentator, with far more at stake, have failed to find it. None the less, it does seem to me that the historic palliative, if not solution, to this problem—the reduction of hours of labor—should be given much more thorough tests than it has yet had. President Kennedy, who is willing and eager to re-examine the myths about the nation's fiscal policies and finances as they affect the economy, seems utterly unwilling to re-examine the even more hoary clichés regarding the 40-hour factory work week. The arguments being set forth today against a reduction in the prevailing work schedule could be taken verbatim from arguments in the nineteenth century when the 72-hour work week was standard.

The rule of thumb is that for each hour that the work week is reduced 300,000 workers will be added to payrolls across the nation. A standard 35-hour week would thus absorb approximately 1,500,000 additional workers, or one-third of the present unemployment rolls. Certainly employers cannot be expected to welcome a shorter work week. Historically they never have, and predictably they never will. It does no good to point out that their companies have grown and prospered with each era's shorter hours of work; they argue and will continue to argue that costs of production must not be allowed to rise. However, it was only two weeks ago that the AFL-CIO Executive Council finally endorsed a program to fight for the 35-hour week both in Congress and at the bargaining table. Perhaps they had been so engrossed in funeral plans for their organizations that the tested but unpopular palliative of reduced working schedules did not previously commend itself to them.

For palliative is all that the shorter work week would be. Man and his hand labor are the basic surplus in the affluent society. With the mechanization of agriculture, surpluses rise year after year, although fewer and fewer farmers till less and less acreage. It takes little imagination to foresee that the country's steel needs could be satisfied with one-tenth of the present work force. Each reader can name other industries and insert the residual work force required to maintain the equipment after automation and mechanization have been completed.

BECAUSE the United States will unquestionably be the first nation to move into the final stages of the industrial revolution, when mechanization and automation will reach their ultimate development, it is of value to ask what institutions will replace the doomed blue-collar unions that initiated so many of the progressive programs of the past. To review briefly—the labor movement in the '30s and '40s was the keystone in inaugurating an era of reform that led to shorter work schedules, a fairer distribution of the nation's wealth, and a general improvement in the country's concepts of social justice. At this writing, organized labor is not participating in the progressive programs of our era. The peace movement, which is slowly gaining strength with the support of intellectuals and women, has no labor support whatever. On the contrary, almost all labor spokesmen and the vast majority of the rank and file see disarmament, or even arms control, as an additional and major threat to their already shaky jobs. Toward the other great progressive movement occupying the country's attention, the crusade for equal rights for the Negro, the labor movement is indifferent—although lip service is sometimes paid to the ultimate objective of racial equality, as long as no immediate action is required that might threaten the privileged position of white union members. In the struggle currently being waged in Albany, Georgia, ministers of the gospel assemble to give support to the aspirations of their fellow man; the United States government, in the form of *amicus curiae* briefs submitted to the courts, supports this struggle for increased dignity. But no labor leaders descend on Albany; few union resolutions pledge men and money to the fight. Labor for the most part is divorced from this struggle.

THERE are those who believe that the white-collar worker, who is now surpassing the blue-collar worker in numbers, will eventually be unionized in impressive numbers and assume the role of leadership in the social, economic and political fields which is today slipping from the grasp of organized labor. However, the problems of organizing the white-collar worker are enormous for the reasons C. Wright Mills set forth in his best book, *White Collar*. For one thing, the white-collar worker feels no such hostility to the boss as typifies management-employee relations in large manufacturing. Nor are class distinctions emphasized in office work as they are in a factory. The white-collar worker is apt to have enjoyed a better education than his blue-collar brother, and in the case of the many women clerical workers, job security and permanent employment are of secondary interest. Young women are working until they get married and begin to raise their families. Finally, the employment turnover in white-collar areas makes an organizer's work a nightmare. In some stores, for example, where the majority of employees are women, it exceeds 40 per cent a year.

One thing is certain, the white-collar worker will not join the production worker's union. Efforts by the United Auto Workers and other unions to enlist their white-collar co-workers have failed totally. In England, a new type of labor figure, the well-educated business executive type, is emerging as leader of some of the white-collar unions. Perhaps in this country, too, as scientific progress begins to pose the threats

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to the white-collar worker that it presently does to the production worker, a demand for white-collar organization will be felt. I doubt it.

IF ONE could look ahead into the structure of our society after we have passed through the final and total stages of the industrial revolution, one might well see us emerging as a one-class society. Even today, employers are for the most part no longer owners; they are essentially hired managers employed in a supervisory role. Marx, Engels and the other revolutionary thinkers of the nineteenth century could foresee only as far as a society in which the key segment was the proletariat. But it seems to me quite possible that within the next century the proletariat will be entirely absorbed in a one-class affluent society which emerges from the completion of the industrial revolution. How will man then occupy his leisure time? Georges Friedmann suggests some answers to this question in the article that follows. More important, what methods will be used to distribute wealth when man's work time loses its market value? We do not know the answers, but some who are alive today will see answers emerge.

Tomorrow's problems await solutions by our children; today's problems face us. In view of the technological unemployment caused by the development of the machine and the computer in the present and the immediate future, it is difficult to see how the palliative solution of the reduced work week can be postponed much longer. And so far as the over-all picture of the union movement can be painted on this Labor Day, 1962, the militant labor leader of yesteryear is evolving into the aging labor "statesman" of today, and is presiding with experience and tenacity over the decent burial of the organization which he built with such energy and bravado and hope a mere thirty years ago.

Leisure in an Automated World . . *Georges Friedmann*

WE LIVE in a world where overwhelming technological progress has profoundly altered traditional ways of work. The average work week which in 1860 was approximately 70 hours in the United States and 85 hours in France, has been reduced only a century later to 37 and 48 hours respectively. This continuing decline affects not only industry but also, and increasingly, trades, white-collar jobs and even farming which, under the impact of mechanization, has become more and more "the food-production industry" (as Henry Ford once called it). The shortened work week characterizes all economically advanced countries, whether they be capitalist or Socialist and includes the USSR—as I have seen for myself in the course of many field trips there, most recently in 1958.

However, not only hours of work but the very nature of work is being transformed. Within a few decades, automation will probably reach the point where traditional skilled labor will become only a memory, at least in industry. What this means for most workers is the progressive elimination of jobs requiring physical, and particularly manual, skills. As the process of automation goes on, the worker will become more and more an operator who merely receives and transmits audio-visual signals activating push-button activities.

TODAY, in a quite advanced but still imperfect system of automation —and except for maintenance jobs whose numerical importance has yet to be established—skilled workers and supervisors are already fast becoming superfluous. Thus, in certain automated jobs inspection duties take approximately 39 to 40 hours a week, while only one hour is required for activities involving physical responses to signals, such as recording readings on a chart, using hand gears, buttons or pedals, or taking calls by intercom or telephone. Some word other than "worker" will be necessary to avoid confusing the duties and responsibilities of such automatic operators with the performance of workers in the past. While these present-day operators share with earlier workers the common trait of more or less skillful manipulation of such materials as metals, wood, fibers, textiles, leather, glass, etc., they are quite different insofar as knowledge and operational skills are concerned.

We must also remember that factory employment, at least in the United States, has already declined, and as industry increasingly relies on atomic energy, with operations performed by remote control, thousands more will be thrown out of jobs. At the same time in offices, trades and the increasingly vast area of "service" occupations, mechanization and automation will also tend to transform traditional jobs.

With this in mind, let us turn to the problem of work as it has been conceived over the course of the centuries preceding the era of automation, atomic energy and electronics which we are now entering. One need not romanticize the past or forget that most men were doomed to servile and brutalizing labor to say that work, nevertheless, played an important role in helping people to achieve personal equilibrium and a degree of happiness. This role has been illuminated for us by contemporary psychology and has been confirmed by successful psychiatric experiments with various types of occupational therapy. Although I am neither a psychoanalyst nor an unreserved admirer of Freudian theories, I consider that Freud more than any other modern thinker

GEORGES FRIEDMANN, French sociologist and Director of Studies at the Sorbonne, is the author of The Anatomy of Work *and other books. This article was translated from the French by Eric Josephson.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has drawn attention to the benefits of work and its equilibrating functions, particularly when the work is freely chosen and can therefore fully engage the personality of the worker. The followers of Kurt Lewin have also demonstrated the psychological importance of performing a job. Indeed, studies in the psychology and sociology of work have shown the harmful effects of loss of work on the personality of the unemployed, the invalid, the pensioner.

Any observer of the emerging social order is justified in wondering —not without anxiety—what is to become of man in a future world from which traditional forms of work will have disappeared. Of course, the new technology may be credited with progressively eliminating the more degrading kinds of labor and offering the masses of mankind hope of eventual liberation from them. Furthermore, while a well-chosen trade is satisfying for the person who performs it, the elimination of routinized, highly detailed, exacting jobs, repeated hour after hour, month after month, year after year, is something to be welcomed. Nevertheless, we must recognize and accept the challenge of a revolutionary development, namely, that in the world of tomorrow for most men and women presently engaged in physical or manual labor, work in the traditional sense of the term is fated to disappear.

Let us consider the top levels of the new industrial order—executives, repair men, maintenance workers, skilled technicians and professionals whose responsibilities are often transformed by technical progress and increasing specialization. Without going into statistical details, it is clear that the mass of the population of mankind (itself rapidly growing and in some countries actually "exploding") will be unqualified or unsuited for such specialized work. What, then, will become of these masses whose center of gravity and whose opportunities for personal achievement will no longer lie in work, but outside of it? Can "leisure" (a generic term to be used cautiously, since it covers the most varied behavior) replace work as the center of psychic equilibrium and satisfaction in human life?

Such are the general problems which present themselves to the observer of industrial civilization, and which must now be examined in the light of recent developments.

IT IS evident that the time freed by the reduction of the work week is in most cases not really "free," that is, available for hobbies or for doing nothing at all. Rather, so-called "free" time is usually consumed by numerous obligations and duties, or even by supplementary work such as a second job. Studies in the Paris area have shown how important are the many familial, educational and professional demands on our free time. We must recognize an increase in chores which, depending on the circumstances, are more or less altruistic and more or less utilitarian. According to a study conducted by Dumazedier, 60 per cent of the workers in the town of Annecy, France, report that their leisure is occupied by such activities, 25 per cent by second jobs and 15 per cent by both. In the United States, there has been a tremendous growth of do-it-yourself activities, especially during the past decade or so. I doubt, however, that this phenomenon has been adequately studied by social psychologists and sociologists.

Another important trend is the multiplication of educational courses taken after work by white-collar and industrial workers who are anxious to protect their jobs, improve their positions or adapt themselves to endless changes in organization and production. One manifestation of this tendency is the success in Paris of the National Conservatory of Arts, and Trades, an evening and weekend technical school which has spawned some thirty associated centers throughout France. But is such study to be considered "leisure" activity?

So much for the hybrid activities and partly utilitarian pursuits, occupying part of our free time, that we too easily and quickly call "leisure." But there is more. For many salaried workers, and even for professionals, free time is taken up with a second job and sometimes even by a third. To understand this development, we must consider the significance of and motivations for dual job-holding, which vary in accordance with the economic development of the countries where the practice has spread.

In the highly advanced industrial countries and especially in that country which is the model of affluence —the United States—the search for a second job reflects new "wants," but is stimulated less by economic necessity (rising consumer prices) than by the anxiety to experience new and constantly changing standards of living. This phenomenon manifests itself chiefly in the lower middle class, as in "keeping up with the Joneses" not only in the style of eating and vacations, but also in purchasing a more comfortable house, a new car or a color TV set. In various chapters of *The Affluent Society,* Galbraith has brilliantly described the economic background of this behavior. Such studies as that by Harvey Swados in Akron probe the phenomenon at the local level. Other works, such as that by Joseph S. Zeisel *(Monthly Labor Review,* January, 1958) have evaluated its importance at the national level. According to Zeisel, 3.6 million persons, or 5.3 per cent of the working population, had more than one job in July, 1957 (the corresponding figure for July, 1950, was 1.8 million, or 3 per cent). Extra jobs in trades and the service industries tripled between 1950 and 1956. In this connection, Zeisel notes: "With continually rising income, people can increasingly 'afford' leisure. However, it is not at all clear that, for all individuals, rising income and the ability to afford more leisure will necessarily be translated into demand for more leisure." Interestingly enough, the rapid increase of dual job-holding took place in a period of full employment when real income was rising.

CONFIRMING the analysis sketched above, it is noteworthy that dual job-holding is by no means concentrated at the lowest income levels. A U.S. census survey has pointed out that the proportion of professional and technical workers holding two jobs in July, 1957, was the same as that among non-farm laborers. Indeed, the percentage was higher among craftsmen than among pro-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

duction and service workers. In France, 25 per cent of the workers in Annecy plied a second trade or were engaged in extra jobs after their ordinary work day had ended. In 1959, "moonlighting" was so widespread in Paris that an association for the protection of craftsmen circulated posters asserting that they alone could guarantee "satisfactory" work and beseeching Parisians to remain faithful to them.

On the other hand, in underdeveloped countries a second job is sought chiefly to augment incomes which are insufficient to meet the fundamental needs of housing, clothing and nourishment. But even in such countries the concept of need is rather confused and shifting, evolving constantly with the growth of per capita income and improvement of the general welfare. In Latin America, a second job is common and sometimes almost institutionalized, as in the case of many municipal employees in Rio de Janeiro. In Argentina, Brazil, Chile and even in some Mexican villages, second jobs are held by industrial and white-collar workers, schoolteachers and underpaid professors.

As for countries with collectivized economies, a recent study in Yugoslavia showed that workers' free time is occupied not only by theoretically voluntary participation in civic activities (workers' and communal self-government), but also by a more or less open search for the supplementary income offered by overtime: gardening, operating a small family farm, etc. In Poland, too, I can report that the practice of holding a second (or third) job has spread as widely among manual workers as among intellectuals. But in these cases, motivations for taking on a second job can be considered transitional; they arise chiefly out of conditions that economic developments will eventually render obsolete.

What is crucial to the thesis of this article is the continuous quest for supplementary income in societies as prosperous as those of the United States and certain countries of Western Europe. Here the cause lies in the economic system itself—the extent to which the system leads to an uncontrolled race between production and consumption and the degree to which it stimulates ever more artificial "needs" for material things and ever more complicated gadgets. The citizen of the affluent society is condemned to be a new Sisyphus, exhausting himself in ceaselessly pushing against a burden that is always descending upon him.

ALONG with the increase of dual job-holding, we must note two other trends which the new technical era has accentuated: the proliferation of recreational associations and the exodus from the great cities toward more or less distant suburbs.

In the United States around 1930, in "Yankee City"—a typical small town of 15,000 inhabitants—W. Lloyd Warner counted approximately 400 voluntary associations. According to a study made in 1958 by Wright and Hyman, 36 per cent of American adults belonged to at least one voluntary association (other than a labor union). The authors of an important study of industrialization (Kerr, Dunlop, Harbison and Myers) predict that voluntary associations will in the future play a major role in free time after working hours. In France, we lack figures on a national scale; but studies in Annecy show that there are 200 active voluntary associations and that the average head of a household participates in at least one of them. Three-quarters of Annecy's citizens belong to recreational organizations which offer—in order of importance—fishing, sports, other fresh-air activities, bowling, music and various other cultural activities.

In the United States as in France, the question is whether participation in such organizations encourages or discourages participation in local and national civic life. In France, at any rate, it appears to foster a form of escape by the individual citizen, who tends to close his mind to the political, social and cultural life of his community, his country and his time. According to G. Magnane, sports clubs, for example, produce "retarded children playing under strict supervision." If these trends continue, isn't there a danger that leisure will become a new "opium of the people"? I pose the question for the United States as well as for the more advanced European countries. Furthermore, isn't the danger accentuated by the flood of information, furnished by the mass media, that encourages superficial conversation on all sorts of subjects—in short, vicarious activity in all areas?

Punch: Ben Roth

"What's the matter? Haven't you seen planned obsolescence before?

The danger may be intensified by still another trend in industrial civilization: the exodus from great cities to residential suburbs. As David Riesman has suggested, the more the day's work is shortened, the less frequently will large families be willing to tolerate city life. This exodus constitutes a kind of revolt against the new technical environment which, more often than not, is unable to satisfy human needs either at work or after work. In days to come, the leisure-hours problem will become more and more critical if we do not take into account the average worker's personal aspirations (which he himself may not express clearly) and if the leaders of our societies fail to come up with adequate solutions.

HAVING made these observations, we can now return to our initial problem. In tomorrow's world, with its atomic plants and new technology, can man realize himself and find happiness in leisure?

It is difficult to answer such a question, since conditions vary widely. Men and women for whom work is only drudgery, repetitious, routinized, detailed—as for the operator of a semi-automatic machine, an assembly-line worker, a minor office employee, or those who for weeks and months wind thread on a bobbin—have little to lose if their center of gravity is displaced from work to non-work. Actually, this shift has

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

already taken place for many persons. For those who have a major hobby, whatever it is (and the list is almost infinite, from photography to small-scale modeling, from tapestry to stamp collecting, from carpentry to the selective culture of roses, from painting to amateur theatre) there may be a natural restructuring of the personality. Some observers even foresee in the automated society of the future the emergence, paradoxically, of a new artisan class dedicated to painstaking craftsmanship and, with the aid of manual tools, creator of its own materials—a new *homo faber,* resuscitated by the increase of leisure.

But the number of persons who can be benefited by a hobby constitutes only a tiny fraction of the multitude. For the great masses of mankind, it must be frankly recognized that the achievement of dignity depends on the manner in which future societies succeed in mastering a mass culture which in the United States, in Europe and even in the underdeveloped countries, tends to smother free time night and day. Will men and women in the future be exposed more and more intensely for ever longer periods to the mass-circulation newspapers and magazines, to the TV, films, radio, comic strips, tabloids and juke boxes which already inundate them with the best and worst — without their having been given the education and experience necessary for the exercise of discrimination? In a nation of free citizens, leisure is essentially freedom —including the freedom to do nothing, "the right to be lazy." But faced with the ever-growing power of the mass media, can democracy persist in its laissez-faire attitude? It should not, of course, go to the extreme of the Fascist "Dopolavoro" or the Nazi "Strength Through Joy" movement. But faced with commercialized entertainment, must not democracy greatly extend its role in providing educational leisure activities—libraries, museums, concerts, theatrical productions, art films, educational TV, etc.? Isn't it only by such an effort that the cultural superiority of the affluent societies can be demonstrated to the underdeveloped countries? It is only at this price that there can be compensation for the decline of work, for the loss of the frequently salutary constraints and the beneficial experience that work offers to many individuals.

The advent of a leisure civilization obliges the most advanced societies to take advantage of the rich opportunities before them, but also to recognize the immense risks which the mass media—carriers of the mass culture—pose for the happiness of their citizens. Should leisure be handed over to free enterprise or should it be organized by the government? The road ahead lies straight between anarchy and despotism. Therefore, it is urgent that we carefully explore this road and follow it wisely toward a richer and more abundant future.

THE SINGLE-MINDED GIRL . . *Eve Merriam*

EVERY publisher longs to have a premeditated money-maker, a book that will leap onto the best-seller list and stay there. At one time, the subject matter was ordained: a nonfiction work containing anecdotes about Lincoln; or a stirring novel of a doctor's dramatic days and nights in the hospital, torn between Wife Goodheart and Nurse Stronghand; or a heart-warming true-life story of a dog, with photographs taken by the author. In fact, so predictable were these themes that George Stevens wrote a book about the business of best-sellers and called it *Lincoln's Doctor's Dog.*

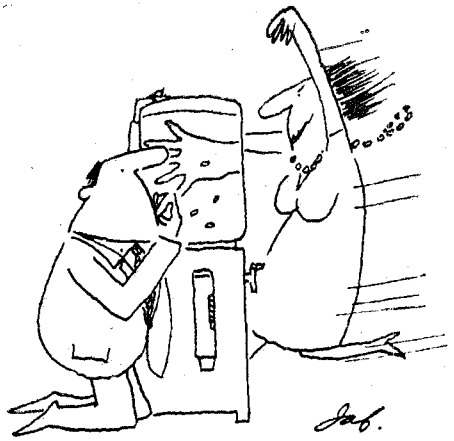
However, the current Civil War centennial has about exhausted the market for Lincolniana. The doctors have moved over into television, with Ben Casey's scalpel flashing on the home screen like shining Excalibur. The dear old dogs have given way to seals, otters, lion cubs, monkeys and dolphins; now instead of being written about, the dogs themselves collaborate on manuscripts, like John Steinbeck's poodle Charlie.

Certain themes remain, nevertheless. A good cookbook flourisheth forever. The Bible still has a lot of mileage. And even without strong assists from Henry Miller, Nabakov, and the unexpurgation of the expurgated gamekeeper, so does sex. The money-minded publisher plots wistfully: if only it were possible to combine all these continuing sure-fire themes into one book, what a terrific triple play that could be! Recipes, Religiosity and Raciness: the three Rs brought together; put the whole thing out in a super-textbook format, easy to read, with subtitles and catchy paragraph headings. What would it take, do you suppose, to get a combined byline from Fanny Farmer, Billy Graham and Norman Mailer? Or suppose—might as well make it a big-time brainstorm — one new author could serve for all three and could, at the same time, also be a looker? The lucky publisher of such a prefabricated book would have it made.

THE LUCKY publisher is Bernard Geis, the author is Helen Gurley Brown, and the winning title is *Sex and the Single Girl.* A deal of pondering must have gone into the title. Just plain Sex is not enough: too generalized and too stark; besides, single-word titles tend to sound like soap or detergents—*Joy, Tide, Dreft, Duz, Vel.* How about "Sex Among the Married Suburban Set?" But that's been split-leveled to splinters. "Sex and Men" or "Sex and Women"? Kinsey staked those claims; one must specialize. "Sex and Single Men" might appear too much like an American Wolfenden report. And so

EVE MERRIAM is the author of Figleaf: The Business of Being in Fashion (*J. B. Lippincott*) *and of many articles on the war between the sexes.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



finally, by natural selection, we are left with sex and the single girl. Here is a feast for all: surely the single girl herself will be interested; so will men of all degrees; and so will married women who will want to know how those outside the fold get along. So, something for everybody and onward and upward to the best-seller list and movie rights to Warner's.

The author is from California, the state that gave the nation the dateburger, and hers is the dateburger de luxe, price $4.95. It is a glorious success story, in the best Alger tradition. Our heroine starts out poor and humble, taking the streetcar to her secretarial job. From the streetcar she steps to her own Mercedes Benz and becomes, in her own words, "The Girl of at least twelve eminently successful men, including an advertising tycoon, a motivational research wizard, two generals, a brewer, a publisher, a millionaire real estate developer and two extremely attractive men who were younger than I." How does it all end? Does she become, like Grace Kelly, a real live Princess? Or a living doll of a First Lady? Far better: she becomes the highest paid advertising copywriter in Los Angeles and marries a Hollywood film producer who, after the wedding, encouraged her to write this lesson book.

Since we are told on the very first page that she is now a Married Lady, her instructive little notes on seduction, culled from her own experiences and those of her friends, are altogether proper. The tone is religiously exhorting throughout, and the philosophy monist: how to get a man or — as the author phrases it more subtly — how to "sink into," "trap" or "bait" him. How she captured one alive, and how other unmarried women can do the same, are the theme without variations. A more accurate title would be *Sex and the Single-Minded Girl.*

Clearly this is a woman's bible, but men can benefit, too, just as Kennedy's staff has read Ché Guevara's handbook on guerrilla warfare. For here is the enemy and she is at work everywhere (quite literally, since the author makes plain that a job serves one purpose: it is a stalking ground for meeting men). What are men? "Men are to buy you cocktails." Where do you flush them out? At the water cooler, behind the filing cabinets, up and down in the office-building elevator, looking over the In and Out bins. Occasionally, off-the-job grounds may provide some likely territory. One friend of the author's found her man at a meeting of Alcoholics Anonymous. Mrs. Brown also suggests joining a political club, and if you are enterprising, she adds that it may be a good idea to join both Democratic and Republican clubs at the same time.

ON THE job, however, is the best bet. Find a job where you can "meet some of those pleasant traveling executives on expense accounts." Better yet, a job where you can do the traveling. "This is terrific fun. Someone else pays." If this is not feasible, go to Europe on your vacation and impersonate being on a business trip like her friend Carol, who used this as "an excuse to meet and talk to people not otherwise approachable. . . . In Paris, for example, she visited a reducing salon and chatted with the manager about exporting the same techniques to the States. In Rome, she called on the American Consulate to ask if there were any Italian knitwear companies who wanted representation in the United States. . . . Once home, she realized she was in no position to import Italian sweaters. She was much too busy managing the office of a CPA."

Get to a job where a sales convention is going on. "The lid's off! If you can get assigned to work at one, you're apt to have fun galore." Polly, another dear friend of the author, reports that "It's like being the only sorority girl in fraternity row on a Saturday night. . . . Her company's sixty salesmen, from all parts of the country, some without their wives, some single or *permanently* [italics in original] free of wives, are there to work, but they also have time off for fun and games and visits to the city's best night spots. Polly has heard Mort Sahl fourteen times. See if you can track down a convention!"

One of the author's favorite words, new to me, is pippy-poo. It seems to mean the business of daily living, and by now you should know what business is for. Yoicks and a pippy-poo manhunt to all, as she continues with a chapter on "How to Be Sexy": "Clean hair is sexy. Lots of hair is sexy, too. Gossip is not unsexy. A small portfolio of stocks is very sexy. . . . Expect and encourage gifts from men."

However, under the heading of "Man-Bait," you sometimes have to spend your own money, but it's worth it when you get your local silversmith to make up a lapel pin with an individualized slogan on it. Our heroine has three silver ones that set her back $18 apiece. One says, "I have gray hair, brown eyes and a black heart," and she confesses in her modest way that it "has always been a smash hit." Can you doubt that she deserves to be the highest paid

copywriter in the Los Angeles area?

Another suggestion you may wish to adopt is to "carry a controversial book at all times — like Karl Marx's *Das Kapital* or *Lady Chatterly's Lover.* It's a perfectly simple way of saying 'I'm open to conversation' without having to start one." There are many other nuggets in this girl-scouting book. My own favorite passage is this: "This book is written on the premise that you, like me, are warm and friendly on the inside but outwardly a pitiful, cowardly coward."

And now, will cowardly little Medusa please stand up and show her pretty hair-do to the class so we can copy it?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS and the ARTS

The Country Squire and the Hero

SIR WALTER RALEIGH, His Family and Private Life. By A. L. Rowse. Harper & Row. 348 pp. $6.95.

Michael Lewis

THE original English title of this work, *Raleigh and the Throckmortons*, is perhaps the more descriptive, because the book is divided, about fifty-fifty, between two separate themes, tenuously connected both here and in real life. Broadly, the themes are (1) Raleigh (mainly his private life), and (2) The Throckmortons, Nicholas and Arthur (mainly Arthur). The ostensible link between them is Elizabeth Throckmorton, Arthur's sister and—but only after 1592 — Raleigh's wife. Before that date, the families were quite unconnected; afterward only slightly so because "Bess" — the sole link — is here treated almost exclusively as a Raleigh, not a Throckmorton. Otherwise, Arthur Throckmorton and Walter Raleigh moved in worlds which had practically nothing in common: the one a minor country gentleman, quiet and rather ordinary; the other that famous Public Figure for whom epithets like "quiet" and "ordinary" would be outrageously inappropriate. The reviewer faces the unusual task of having to notice what are virtually two books under one cover, both interesting to historians, but in different ways, and for quite different reasons.

He will give precedence to the Throckmorton theme as being, in his view, the more historically valuable. The first three chapters deal exclusively with the father of Arthur and Bess—Sir Nicholas, that astute diplomatist of the middle 1500's. Of this able but rather unattractive man Dr. Rowse presents a brief and lively portrait. But, again, links with both Arthur and Walter are distinctly tenuous, for he was not in the least like either of them, and both were mere striplings when he died. Indeed, he provides something suspiciously like a third theme. Yet the study of him is in itself a worthy contribution to Tudor biography; and at least he is the parent of Arthur, who next occupies the stage, alternating thereafter with Raleigh.

Here Dr. Rowse is using altogether new material: Arthur Throckmorton's diary, recently discovered at Boughton Malherbe near Canterbury. This "Arthur" section is pure social history, its excursions into politics and war being negligible. As a close-up account of how one Elizabethan country gentleman fared, from early manhood to late middle age, it has unique interest and value. True, it might have been even more valuable had Arthur been a less prosaic fellow, less interested in his rents, estates and ailments, and more in the very fascinating people with whom he daily rubbed shoulders. But we can accept gratefully what chance has given us—an opportunity to see what careful husbandry could do for a medium-sized Elizabethan estate: how, though starting life under the constant necessity of pawning, redeeming and repawning his personal possessions, Arthur could gradually bal-

MICHAEL LEWIS, the English naval historian, held the Chair of History at the Royal Naval College, Greenwich, from 1934 to 1955.

'I Want To Live'

for Humberto Anaya

Balantino says
How can he want
to leave this town?

blonds buying
him supper, five languages to hurl
at tourists, the anxious smile
of mother to bless his natty
suit (bed-posts swiped
from those dead New-
Englanders

In his room a mother
rat trapped in rafters
pissing every 3 PM
on the canvas-sail bed-spread
Clothed by hands alone a Varga girl
covered with boils from
wall sweat also draining
Christ's beard in a candy-box lid
filled with photos
yellowing on the bed-table
On top Don Quixote
beaming from burro-back
sombrero . . .

wearing his father's boots, his
at thirteen he left home
to move across the street

Autumn, ponchos belly sail
from market-line —
in Guadalajara
twenty-five miles away matadors
strut, clouds
flush vermilion over Tampico wharves

He squats in a museum-hall of mango trees
Back gimleted with sun-spots
he sees squirrels
disappear in their hollows with
thumbs, listening
for figs to plop
pellets to drop in a can
of acid like
once happened in an American movie

Clayton Eshleman

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ance his budget, and then—somewhat gingerly at first—begin "improvements," in the end completely rebuilding and beautifying a new home. Then, for all that Arthur was a careful soul, meticulously counting his pennies, we see how generous he could be to both friends and dependents; how he prudently built up his flocks of sheep, still the mainstay of English economy; how he visited his neighbors to "kill his buck" or fly his falcon, and had them to visit him; how he did his duty as justice and militia-captain. We learn his taste in literature and the books he bought; what he ate, drank, wore; the remedies—oh how awesome!—which he suffered at the hands of his physicians, and what fabulous sums he spent on "cures" which would assuredly demolish us degenerate moderns out of hand (he proudly mentions one which gave him 22 "stools" in 24 hours!). The whole adds a substantial chapter to our knowledge of how, at one of his most formative periods, the English Country Gentleman began to come into his own.

IT IS a far cry from the placid stream of Arthur's life to the turbulent torrent which was Walter's. Here Dr. Rowse has no new find comparable with the Throckmorton diary. He disclaims, wisely, all intention of writing another full "life," so often attempted before. He is concerned only with the *private* life. That is fair enough. But then, from this limited angle, can he really expect (as he puts it) "to grasp the problematical, essential nature of this so difficult man"? It seems that he does so expect: indeed, feels that he has "*got* him."

Here, however, I venture to disagree: to doubt even the possibility, under his self-imposed conditions. The "essential nature" of a Public Figure cannot, of course, be "got" by merely examining his public activities. Yet it is surely flying to the other extreme to expect to get it exclusively from his private life, especially from that of a character like Raleigh who, for all his amazing versatility, was still primarily a "man of action," touching public life at a dozen points. These contacts made up so large a part of his total life—and incidentally are so much better-documented than are his private thoughts and reactions—that it is surely tempting providence to drop his story whenever he is about to *do* something; to say deliberately, "I shall not follow him here: I am concerned only with his *private* life." Sometimes this method will clearly not work. Thus, though Dr. Rowse admits, incidentally, that Raleigh was well loved and served by his own people, officers and common men alike, he never explains why—because, presumably, he won that love when on "public" service, where Dr. Rowse is not following him. Yet the dynamism implicit in leadership is surely an "essential" component in any man lucky enough to possess it?

And what manner of man is the Raleigh whom Dr. Rowse finally "gets"? This "difficult" and fascinating Elizabethan proves—when Dr. Rowse has resolved the difficulties—to be a good deal less fascinating than is usually supposed. A brilliant mind, yes; ahead of its time, active, daring, original: but otherwise hasty, unscrupulous, unstable; over-combative, overbearing and intolerant, yet of faulty judgment; a self-seeker, a hypocrite; a scoffer—of man, though not quite of God. The author's assessment is challenging, well worth making; and it may be right. All I am saying is that I am not convinced of its rightness, mainly because it seems to be based on too narrow a foundation.

Military Thinking on Peace

DEFENSE OR RETALIATION. A German View. By Helmut Schmidt. Frederick A. Praeger. 264 pp. $7.

Raymond Fletcher

IT IS thirty years since Captain Liddell Hart revealed a new truth by amending an ancient dictum. If you wish for peace, he said, *understand* war. Today it seems as though the message has finally penetrated. Industrious academics, industrious publicists and industrious computers have produced a vast literature on the interlinked subjects of war and its avoidance. Yet though the revised dictum is understood by modern military intellectuals, few of them show much understanding of war itself.

Most of the strategic advice that is showered on the political and military leaders of the Western Alliance is about as much use as the wildly erratic mathematical calculations that went into Foch's pernicious work, *Des Principes de la Guerre.* Like the pre-1914 French Army, NATO has been consistently misguided by doctrines that contradict generations of military experience while purporting to summarize it.

Helmut Schmidt, a leading Social Democrat spokesman on defense in the West German *Bundestag,* has two great advantages over most of the other writers who regularly instruct NATO in what it should do with itself. Neither by training nor temperament is he a doctrinaire; and his understanding of war derives from the most rewarding of all military experiences—that of defeat. Both advantages, combined with his capacity as an analyst and his lucidity as a writer, make his book almost a curiosity among books on defense. For it is actually about defense.

Though deterrence and defense are intertwined concepts—an effectively organized defense should deter a potential aggressor—nuclear deterrence (i.e., the threat of retaliation) is essentially a substitute for defense. Schmidt's central argument, therefore, is capsuled into his title. He wants the defense of West Europe to be so organized that NATO ceases to be a gigantic nuclear booby trap that would certainly destroy what was being defended if war broke out.

His treatment of battlefield nuclear weapons demonstrates the superiority of distilled experience over computer calculations. A few years ago the computers and their attendant theorists were telling us that battlefield nuclears would replace men, give the defenders decisive advantages over the attackers and so limit nuclear war as to make it an acceptable instrument of policy.

SCHMIDT'S skillful dissection of these fallacies is not so superfluous as it might appear. While it is true that the Kennedy Administration is now doing much of what Schmidt advocated, it is equally true that the policy of pulling battlefield nuclears out of the front line is being strongly resisted by two of America's European Allies. France resists because of pique, Germany because of doctrine. The *Bundeswehr,* now the strongest contingent in NATO, still insists on having nuclears up front.

Defense Minister Strauss is, of course, more logical than Defense Secretary McNamara. If nuclear deterrence remains the immutable first premise, then it follows that NATO must remain a hair-triggered booby trap. But Mr. McNamara, one hopes, is beginning to counterpose the logic of politics to the

---

RAYMOND FLETCHER is the principal editorial and feature writer on Tribune *(London). He is also a member of the Institute of Strategic Studies and the Military Commentators' Circle, and is at present at work on a study of global disengagement.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

logic of nuclear deterrence. This is what Schmidt does in the key chapters of his book. Take, for example, his common sense (which is what political wisdom mainly consists of) about disengagement, the mere suggestion of which makes official Bonn foam at the mouth.

Most of the proposals for a zone of limited and controlled arms in Central Europe have been put forward on political grounds as tension-reducing measures. Schmidt accepts that they would, in fact, reduce tension and at the same time provide valuable pilot projects for policing a general disarmament agreement. But he goes on to show that even the Rapacki Plan, if agreed on, would be to the military advantage of a West Europe that had opted for a non-suicidal defense policy.

Not only would the suggested non-nuclear zone comprise twice as much territory in the East as in the West, but the Soviet Army would be withdrawn behind three major barriers to the surprise attack that has featured in NATO nightmares for so long—the rivers Oder, Vistula and Bug. "By contrast," writes Schmidt, "the troops of the other NATO powers stationed in the Federal Republic would have to cross only one extra river, viz. the Rhine." This strand of argument alone should demonstrate the difference between military thinking and the abstract arabesques that have been substituted for it in recent years. Schmidt is a military thinker of the first quality. His book merits all the praise it has received in Europe.

'Pity the Giants'

THE BEAN EATERS. By Gwendolyn Brooks. Harper and Row. 71 pp. $3.

ANNIE ALLEN. By Gwendolyn Brooks. Harper & Row. 60 pp. $2.50.

A STREET IN BRONZEVILLE. By Gwendolyn Brooks. Harper & Row. 57 pp. $2.

Harvey Curtis Webster

IN TIMES as troubled as ours what sensitive writer can avoid a certain obsession with contemporary ills that may be temporary? Gwendolyn Brooks, from her very good *A Street in Bronzeville,* through her nearly as good *Annie Allen,* to her better *The Bean Eaters,* has never denied her engagement in the contemporary situation or been over-obsessed by it. In her engagement she resembles Langston Hughes, Countee Cullen and Margaret Walker, to name the other Negro poets I know best. In her ability to see through the temporal she equals Richard Wright, James Baldwin and Ralph Ellison, writers of fiction who accept Negro-ness as prizeable differentiation and a dilemma, include it to transcend it. Of course she writes of Emmett Till, of Little Rock, of Dorie Miller, of a white maid disgusted to see her child embrace the Negro maid. Of course she uses (less frequently and less successfully than Langston Hughes) blues rhythms, writes of the blessing-curse, the accident of color. Like all good writers she acknowledges Now by vivifying it, accepts herself and the distinguishing background that is part of her distinction. But she refuses to let Negro-ness limit her humanity. She does not "marvel at this curious thing:/to make a poet black, and bid him sing." Gwendolyn Brooks accepts to transcend.

To me, now, her poems about the Negro dilemma today seem her best because they help me and others to identify as we must. Excluding the trivial verse that emphasizes Now or color too much ("patent leather" and "the battle" in her first volume; "downtown vaudeville" and "old laughter" in *Annie Allen;* "My Little 'Bout-town Gal" and "For Clarice . . ." in *The Bean Eaters*), her bitter and sympathetic poems make the Negro a problem in the heart of every American. Her best social poems yet are in *The Bean Eaters.* "A Bronzeville Mother Loiters in Mississippi. Meanwhile, a Mississippi Mother Burns Bacon" is notable because it is written from the point of view of the white woman married to a man who thinks with pride of the killing of Emmett Till. "Mrs. Small," serious light verse about Mrs. Small's spilling of coffee on the white insurance collector, is as good. So are "The Chicago *Defender* Sends a Man to Little Rock," "The Ballad of Rudolph Reed" (perhaps her best in this mode) and "Bronzeville Woman in a Red Hat."

Yet these poems, necessary for Gwendolyn Brooks to write and for us to read, are not really the best. Negro-ness, the contemporary situation, Miss Brooks's individuality, mastered craft and foreverness coalesce in her best poems. "Race" is then an accident; the contemporary situation a source of detail; craft the skilled accomplice of matter; Miss Brooks everywoman differentiated. Increasingly in each of her books these poems have appeared.

From *A Street in Bronzeville*:

Surely you stay my certain own, you stay
My you. All honest, lofty as a cloud.
Surely I could come now and find you high,
As mine as you ever were; should not be awed.
Surely your word would pop as insolent
As always: "Why, of course I love you, dear."
Your gaze, surely ungauzed as I could want.
Your touches, that never were careful, what they were.
Surely—But I am very off from that.
From surely, From indeed. From the decent arrow
That was my clean naivete and my faith.
This morning men deliver wounds and death.
They will deliver death and wounds tomorrow.
And I doubt all. You. Or a violet.

From *Annie Allen*:

"pygmies are pygmies still, though percht on Alps"
—Edward Young

But can see better there, and laughing there
Pity the giants wallowing on the plain.
Giants who bleat and chafe in their small grass,
Seldom to spread the palm; to spit; come clean.

Pygmies expand in cold impossible air,
Cry fie on giantshine, poor glory which
Pounds breast-bone punily, screeches, and has
Reached no Alps: or, knows no Alps to reach.

From *The Bean Eaters*:

A Lovely Love

Let it be alleys. Let it be a hall
Whose janitor javelins epithet and thought
To cheapen hyacinth darkness that we sought
And played we found, rot, make the petals fall.
Let it be stairways, and a splintery box

HARVEY CURTIS WEBSTER, who is on the English faculty of the University of Louisville, has been appointed Fulbright professor at the University of Leeds (England) for 1962-63.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Where you have thrown me, scraped
me with your kiss,
Have honed me, have released me
after this
Cavern kindness, smiled away our
shocks.
That is the birthright of our lovely
love
In swaddling clothes. Not like that
Other one.
Not lit by any fondling star above.
Not found by any wise men, either.
Run.
People are coming. They must not
catch us here
Definitionless in this strict atmos-
phere.

In these poems, and in others I would like to quote, the iceberg beauty depends on what is not said. (And note the mastery of the half-rhyme sonnet in the first, of the skilled opening of each line with trochees followed by a basic iambic rhythm in the second. Space permitting, it would be a pleasure to show how expertly Gwendolyn Brooks commands differing kinds of sonnets, of *terza rima,* of couplets, quatrains, free verse, even a variant rhyme royal in "The Anniad," a diffuse, inferior poem despite its technical excellence. It would be pleasant, too, to show the gradual development of freedom, of her own spontaneity disciplined, culminating in the frequent free verse that is used almost as often as regular forms in *The Bean Eaters.*)

Though like any poet she continues to print bad or only adequate poems, *The Bean Eaters* contains her best work. I have mentioned the excellent social poems. The poems that may last longer are more and better: "In Honor of David Anderson Brooks, My Father," a dignified eloquent elegy; "Jessie Mitchell's Mother," the always war of generations, with "race" a happy accidental increment; "The Lovers of the Poor," bitter irony about "loathe-love largess"; "A Sunset of the City," spare brilliance about aging; "The Crazy Woman," Yeats absorbed; "A Lovely Love," the Virgin Mary's conception and Lillian's contrasted; "Leftist Orator in Washington Park Pleasantly Punishes the Gropers," a fine hortatory poem for those who believe gradualism rights everything; "In Emanuel's Nightmare: Another Coming of Christ," a poem about the flaw of everyman that deserves comparison with Marianne Moore's "In Distrust of Merits." She is a very good poet, the only superlative I dare use in our time of misusage; compared not to other Negro poets or other women poets but to the best of modern poets, she ranks high.

Current Titles of Interest to *Nation* Readers

ROCKING THE BOAT. Gore Vidal. Little, Brown. $5.75.

Journalistic pieces in the areas of politics, books and the theatre. The volume includes Mr. Vidal's celebrated interview with Barry Goldwater; also his review of Robert Graves's translation of Suetonius and "The Unrocked Boat," on modern satire, which originally appeared in *The Nation.*

RADICAL INNOCENCE. Ihab Hassan. Princeton Univ. Press. $6.

The critic investigates contemporary American fiction in three related contexts: the changing image of the hero, the shifting formal structure of the novel and a detailed view of four novelists — McCullers, Capote, Salinger and Bellow — who have dealt with pressing contemporary concerns in their work.

THE TWILIGHT OF SELF-GOVERNMENT. Thomas H. Uzzell. Bruce Humphries. $4.

The author writes a reasoned but impassioned appeal to the American people to take the powers and responsibilities of government back into their own hands before the democratic structure of the country collapses from lack of use.

THE USES OF POWER. Alan F. Westin, ed. Harcourt, Brace & World. $5.95.

Seven case studies of how power, of office, wealth and influence, operates in American politics today. The studies focus in turn on Congress, The Presidency, The Supreme Court, Regulatory Agencies, Political Parties, State and Local Governments and Pressure Groups.

THE CASE FOR COURAGE. William M. Kunstler. Morrow. $5.95.

The author reviews ten cases in which American lawyers have placed their own reputations and careers in jeopardy by defending persons whose alleged crimes had outraged the community. Among the attorneys are John Adams, William Seward, John Peter Altgeld, Clarence Darrow, Homer Cummings, Harold Medina and Joseph Welch.

EGGHEAD'S GUIDE TO AMERICA. Wade Thompson. Macmillan. $3.50.

The iconoclastic professor of English fights on a number of fronts: Education, Military, Entertainment, Anti-Communist, Social. Many of these essays were first published in *The Nation.*

THE AGE OF HAPPY PROBLEMS. Herbert Gold. Dial. $4.95.

A television producer once asked Mr. Gold for stories about happy people with happy problems. The novelist's wry and somewhat alarmed reaction to that request has produced a number of magazine articles on American mores and American activities that are here collected.

TV IN AMERICA: THE MORALITY OF HARD CASH. Meyer Weinberg. Ballantine Books. 75c.

An account of the notorious Quiz Show scandals which probes beneath the surface facts, analyzes the huckster ethics of television and explains the causes for the "wasteland" in TV programing. Carefully documented, well indexed, with a useful bibliography.

COMMON SENSE ABOUT A STARVING WORLD. Ritchie Calder. Macmillan. $2.95.

A thoughtful primer—one of Macmillan's "common sense" series of books on international social problems—on the race between population and the food supply. Ritchie Calder, a science journalist and diplomat of science, surveys the present resources, speculates as to future supplies and techniques, warns of the hazards involved in the most intricate process of converting natural processes to human ends.

DAVID KNUDSEN. George P. Elliott. Random House. $4.95.

The author of *Parktilden Village* and *Among the Dangs* writes a novel about a young man of the World War II generation whose adventures of the mind and frustrations of the will become symbolized in the fact that he falls victim to that most modern of diseases, radiation sickness.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Notorious Parent

THE FAMILY LETTERS OF SAMUEL BUTLER, 1841-1886. Selected, Edited and Introduced by Arnold Silver. Stanford University Press. 295 pp. $6.50.

Newton Arvin

"I HAVE purposely refrained from reading any of your books except Canterbury and could feel more sympathy in any artistic success you might attain than in this." So wrote the Reverend Thomas Butler to his son Samuel in 1878, after the latter had published *Erewhon, The Fair Haven,* and *Life and Habit* (the "Canterbury" to which the old man alluded being a volume of letters Butler had written from New Zealand, which his father himself had bowdlerized and published). Both the sentiment and its expression were perfectly characteristic of the relations between this most notorious Victorian parent and his long-suffering son. One recognizes at once the peculiarly disagreeable voice of the Reverend Theobald Pontifex, the small-minded and tyrannical father of Ernest Pontifex in *The Way of All Flesh,* the novel which Butler was already writing in 1878 but which he arranged to have published only after his death.

Professor Silver has brought together in this volume a series of letters (two-thirds of which have never before been published) exchanged among members of the Butler family from the time when Samuel was a small boy at school until his father's death, the bulk of them being letters between Butler and the older man. They do little to mollify the harshness of the portrait of Theobald Pontifex in Butler's best-known work; on the contrary, they tend rather to confirm that harshness, or to suggest that it errs somewhat on the side of restraint. The elder Butler, these letters now make clear, was in actuality something of a monster of parental tyranny, of stupid incomprehension, bullying intolerance, and petty rancor. He was human, of course, and there is a certain pathos in the anxiety and disappointment his own stupidity and meanness brought upon him — in the person not only of Samuel Butler but also of a black-sheep younger son — but it is impossible to judge him as anything but an embodiment of the most repellent characteristics of Victorian middle-class parenthood. As such, he has an almost allegorical largeness of outline — for surely no book went farther toward discrediting the whole Victorian conception of the rights of parents than *The Way of All Flesh.* Quite unwittingly, Thomas Butler dug the grave of all the paternal bullies of his era.

"HE NEVER liked me, nor I him," said Butler in one of his notebook entries; "from my earliest recollections I can call to mind no time when I did not fear him and dislike him." And quite understandably. It is clear from these letters that Thomas Butler disliked both of his sons from the beginning (though not the two submissive daughters), but disliked the older son the more intensely because he sensed, one feels sure, when Butler was still a boy, that he was a highly gifted child, who would make his mark in some unconventional and not really "respectable" manner, and outdistance his envious parent. That parent held the whip-hand over his sons because he also held the purse-strings, and these letters are to a very large extent — both amusingly and oppressively — concerned with the subject of money. The £ sign is everywhere in them, for Canon Butler objected pettishly to almost every choice his son suggested for a profession, sneered at his capacities for any of them, and threatened to cut him off without a penny if he should follow his inclinations and become a painter or a writer.

On the whole, Butler himself emerges in an honorable light from this miserable record; emerges as a stronger and even as a wiser character than Ernest Pontifex in the novel. He, too, was obsessed with the subject of money, but this becomes understandable in the light of all the circumstances; and meanwhile the dignity, the temperance, the calm self-respect that pervade most of the answers to his father's abusive letters are those of a young, and then a middle-aged, man who is essentially aware of his own superiority and capable of biding his time in spite of insensate opposition and dull misunderstanding. There were disagreeable traits in Butler's own make-up — and his resemblance to his father cannot be ignored — but some of his most genuine virtues shine out in this correspondence.

PROFESSOR SILVER has included not only letters between Butler and his father but letters to and from his unpleasant sisters, May and Harriet, and the original text of that incredible letter from the mother to her two sons, written when Fanny Butler was about to be "confined" and was convinced that she would not survive, and intended to be read by them when Samuel (then only six) should reach the age of sixteen. (Fanny Butler survived the confinement for thirty years.) This is the letter, both sanctimonious and hysterical, which Butler reproduced almost literally as having been written by Christina Pontifex in Chapter XXV of *The Way of All Flesh.* His own boyish letters to his mother from school are charming, and, all in all, this collection, painful as it mostly is, enhances and elevates our impression of Butler as a man.

NEWTON ARVIN is the biographer of Hawthorne, Whitman and Melville. He is the editor of The Heart of Hawthorne's Journals *and* The Selected Letters of Henry Adams.

LETTER from WALES

Ralph Maud

The Buganda are a nation: not a servile tribe like the Welsh in Britain
—Amos Semba, Minister of Finance in Buganda.

It would certainly help to balance things if Europe had a few newly emancipated smaller nations. The unique contribution of Dr. Conor O'Brien and the Irish contingent in the Congo illustrates that the most useful bond between Africa and Europe will probably be the fellow feeling of the previously oppressed. Cannily taking his audience's viewpoint, Gwynfor Evans, President of Plaid Cymru (the Party of Wales), recently wrote in an Indian journal: "There still remain in Europe a few small nations without political self-government. . . . Two and a half million Welsh people live on a mountainous peninsula of 8,000 square miles on the West of the largest of the British isles." An independent Wales—one heard the phrase in Jamaican calypso recently — "would have a fine reception."

The people of Wales as a whole, however, have little inclination toward independence since, whatever Plaid Cymru might say, they feel quite well off as a quaint corner of Britain. Even the sophisticated polemicists at Coleg Harlech,

RALPH MAUD is on the English faculty of the University of Buffalo.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Parlor Car Beer

They look coach, in the morning
pants wrinkled.
And I *am* coach, CHICAGO spelled out
across my front teeth.
Don't want to be sleeper.

They
look sleeper
coming in from the other end, the
dirty & tired
have a beer
with the rested & clean.

Get this:
we talked of the all England
ice skating championships, 1959

How
some skills pass the understanding
of the uninitiated
right in the middle of Nebraska

Edward Dorn

though very keen on Welshness in language, literature and life, argue that the present tolerant English rule preserves more than could be retained under home rule. The closing of mines and railway lines by the central (nationalized) authorities is debated inconsequentially by the thirty-six Welsh M.P.s in the House of Commons; but the people feel that they are still ahead of the game, being part of the going concern called Britain while enjoying the luxury of separate cultural patriotism.

And the larger nations, with their impersonal spacemen, might well envy a small nation the less expensive excitement of a poetry contest (the National Eisteddfod was held last month in Llanelly) in which the winner turns out to be everybody's cousin. Wales is just of a size that anyone who distinguishes himself is fussed or worried over (including, currently, Richard Burton on Circe's island). This kind of recognition from one's cultural group, which is also one's nation, is a luxury that the world could do with more of. As a visitor, I have been seduced into the self-deception that I am, after all, a Welshman. It began in that piece of Welsh soil in London, Griffs Bookshop, just off Trafalgar Square. The four brothers, the proprietors, survey you with suspicion; for, if you have no connection at any point with Wales, then you cannot be thought to exist. But, encouragingly, any connection at all. . . . Hurriedly I found a Swansea grandmother and a professional interest in a Welsh poet who died not many years ago in New York. Laughter and happiness: they knew my grandmother and they knew my poet.

My address for the past three months has been "Bennar, Dolgellau, Wales"—a convenient and endearing conciseness. The postmen of the world, at least, know Wales as a nation. And Dolgellau knows all its houses by name, who owns them, who has lived in them, and who is living in them. I arrived temporarily penniless, and lived for three weeks by grace of the local bank manager. In a small town, in a small country, human dignity counts for something.

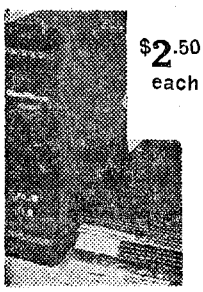
I attended a meeting of the Merioneth County Finance Committee. The minutes, reports and other formalities were conducted in English; but when it came to the question of buying some old Army huts near Trawsfynydd, the Committee somehow found itself better able to argue it out in Welsh, the language of the shops, streets and farms. Although I believe that a non-Welsh-speaking Wales could justifiably have national status, the persistent and widespread use of Welsh is one of the more obvious signs of separateness.

For a whole afternoon I watched two farmers shearing. The sheep belonged to one of them; the other farmer was his neighbor. Not on particularly good terms as to their fences, still they had worked together from early morning and would go on till dusk at this rather unpleasant task: one farmer sits back hugging the sheep, holding the rear legs open, while his partner clips off the dirty wool from around the rear end. This kind of cooperation is built into the system of hill farming. Rounding up the sheep for lambing in the spring is a mass "collective" effort; each day a different farmer gets the services of all the farmers of the area. This comitatus functions regardless of personal animosities, and has its counterpart in the mining valleys of South Wales, where the strong voluntary unions do everything but run the pits—and could, it seems to some people, very well do that. The two basic occupations of Wales, then, are indigenously cooperative; and the voting record shows that, left to itself, Wales would have had an easy-going Socialist government decades ago.

Great natural beauty and resources, an amiable and talented people, a host of distinguishing characteristics to be proud of—Wales is the kind of country where you swear to yourself to throw nothing, *nothing*, out of the car window. It has all a small country might want, except self-determination. In these comparatively affluent days, the Welshmen who feel a bitterness about the missing element, who feel that without self-determination Wales is no bet-

AUTHORS!
We set in linotype, print by letterpress, staple, deliver 1000 copies of your 48-page booklet for only $300—lowest price anywhere.
PACIFIC BOOK COMPANY
Dept. B, 260 Kearny Street
San Francisco 8, Calif.

Copyright information
Basic questions are answered on how to copyright literary and other material in the U.S., in a free handy eight-page folder published by Daniel S. Mead, literary agent, 915 Broadway, New York 10. The folder tells what kinds of material can be copyrighted, and what can't; how to go about it; how long it lasts; how material can revert to "public domain" if not recopyrighted; and so on.



SAVE YOUR COPIES OF THE NATION

- Each file holds a full year's copies.
- Jesse Jones Volume Files for every publication.
- Covered in durable leather like Kivar, title embossed in 16 Kt. gold.

Satisfaction guaranteed

Attractive and practical for your home or office
3 for $7.00
6 for $13.00
ORDER NOW—send check or money order
Magazine File Co.
520 Fifth Avenue
New York 36, N.Y.

FREE DESCRIPTIVE FOLDER UPON REQUEST

The Best Way To Get THE NATION

THE NATION
333 Sixth Ave., New York 14
☐ One Year, $8
☐ Two Years, $14
☐ Three Years, $20
☐ 6 Months, $4
☐ Bill Me ☐ Payment Enclosed
(Foreign and Canadian Postage $1 a year extra)
NAME .....
ADDRESS .....
CITY ..... ZONE ..... STATE .....
9-1-62

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PUBLICATIONS

Understand the Meaning of Events. Read—

POLITICAL AFFAIRS

September

THE BATTLE FOR THE SHORTER WORK WEEK, **Jack Stachel**

TESTING, DETECTING AND LIMITED WAR, **Herbert Aptheker**

FOR ALGERIA'S TOTAL INDEPENDENCE, **C. P. of Algeria**

END THE ANTI-NEGRO TERROR! **STATEMENT OF C.P.U.S.A.**

Articles, Book Reviews, Poetry, Letters

50c a copy • Subscription $5

NEW ERA BOOK & SUB AGENCY
832 Broadway New York 3, N.Y.

L'EXPRESS

the leading liberal paper in France today. Send 10c for your copy. **HOWARD PUBLICATIONS, 1475 Broadway, New York 36.**

THE ORIGINAL LITTLE BLUE BOOKS —15c each. 2,000 titles. Free catalogue. **LARSON'S BOOKS, Box 215-N, Cannon Falls, Minn.**

LITERARY SERVICES

WRITERS SEND YOUR books, articles, stories, plays for free evaluation, screening and sale. Write today! **Literary Agent Mead, 915 Broadway, N.Y.C. 10.**

EDUCATIONAL

IQ ***Measure of your mental ability and MUCH MORE . . .***

But you probably haven't been told your I.Q. score. Now, inexpensively and privately in your own home you can accurately test I.Q. with the modern UNIVERSITY RESEARCH INSTITUTE TEST. 15 sections and over 200 questions. **Adults or Children.** Developed by leading scientists and educators. Individual interpretation and evaluation.

Send your check or money order for $6.00 immediately, or for further details write, to **URI TEST, Dept. 11, Box 6744, Stanford, California.**

This offer is made as part of a research program and will not be repeated. If you are interested, do not delay.

LEARN WHILE ASLEEP, self-hypnosis, prayer-plant experiments! Details, catalog **FREE. Research Association, Box 24-TN, Olympia, Washington.**

SERVICES

MOVING? Professional moving at competitive rates. Anytime, anywhere. Licensed, insured, experienced. **THE COVERED WAGON. ALgonquin 5-1788 (N.Y.C.)**

WE MOVE YOU WITHOUT TEARS — Economical, insured moving and storage. Vans, wagons—NYC, resorts, long distance. **The Padded Wagon, Inc., AL 5-3343 (NYC), 569 Hudson Street, New York 14.**

***Advertise Your Needs in* The NATION**

ter than a side show, a national park, an Indian reservation, are bound to be few in number. But they are also bound to be among the best. While Plaid Cymru loses election after election, more and more of the best writers and thinkers are joining.

THOUGH a small minority, the members of Plaid Cymru eschew fanaticism —following the lead of their president in this. I visited Gwynfor Evans and his large, young family in their comfortable home near Llangadog. He is descended from land owners in the region, and is himself a trained solicitor and gentleman farmer. A pleasant host, rather on the Kennedy model, he is very much at ease with life; his political devotions come out of very natural affections. It is some years now since he led a group in blocking the entrance to an Army camp (September, 1951, as a matter of fact—a good while before sit-downs became "popular" in other countries). Nowadays the Party is concentrating on local government, literally on *home* rule, rather than on trying (and failing) to send members to Parliament.

Plaid Cymru is much concerned about the moral means of achieving its ends, but it is hard to see how it can succeed without exerting some form of blackmail on the British Government, using the threat of an aggrieved populace. The blundering days of George III are long gone, and good grievances are hard to come by. The remoteness of Plaid Cymru's ideal goals offsets their attractiveness. Nevertheless, Welsh Nationalism presents a personal problem for each Welshman. I was interested to see how an old friend of mine, Meredydd Evans, lecturer in philosophy and well-known singer of Welsh ballads in Boston, Massachusetts, and in Bangor, North Wales, solved the dilemma for himself. One of the pamphlets I picked up at the house of Gwynfor Evans was a collection of statements from a dozen new members of the Party. Summarizing his position, Meredydd Evans wrote: "I considered it a hopeless task to win over most of the Welsh electorate to Plaid Cymru. I now realize that this is no excuse for not giving what support I may be able to give to Y Plaid's efforts. Moreover, it is obvious that its impact on Welsh political and social life is steadily increasing. It has now gained one more person's support; may it gain more."

A benign nationalism, this. And with wider implications. In our Kafkaesque world, we are all members of one "servile tribe" or other.

LETTERS

(*Continued from inside front cover*)

Is Caroline News?

Dear Sirs: In my opinion as a newspaperman, Sister Mary Paul Paye's "The Kennedy Cult" (*The Nation*, August 11) is mostly nonsense. . . . Her article seems to be based on two popular fallacies about the press. One is that publicity necessarily implies approval. The other is that publicity is necessarily beneficial.

My impression, after thirty years in the newspaper business, is that overexposure can be just as dangerous for politicians as for television comedians. It destroyed the late Senator McCarthy. It has already caused some irritation in connection with the Kennedy family, an irritation your author seems to share.

She advances the dubious notion that the publication of so much feature material about the Kennedy family crowds out more significant news about the Presidency.

Actually, the problem is not too much frivolous reporting about the Kennedy family but too much frivolous reporting on all subjects. The death of Marilyn Monroe has distorted the news far more this month than the vacation of Jacqueline and Caroline Kennedy in Italy.

New York City CLIFTON DANIEL
The New York Times

Dear Sirs: Congratulations to *The Nation* for publishing the article by Sister Mary Paul Paye. The dangers, insidious and otherwise, which this article describes deserve the thoughtful consideration of every alert citizen.

GIFFORD B. DOXSEE
Department of History
Athens, Ohio. Ohio University

The Peace Store

Dear Sirs: If Mr. Arthur Dean at Geneva wishes to prove that the Kennedy Administration desires peaceful relations with Russia, he will spend less time trying to get the Soviets to sign a treaty . . . and instead place an order with the USSR for six shiploads of raw materials. . . . If I go into a store run by an Italian, or by a Jew, or by an Irishman, do I show bitterness or distrust because of his nationality? Not at all! If the goods are right, I buy. When I see him again, he greets me pleasantly.

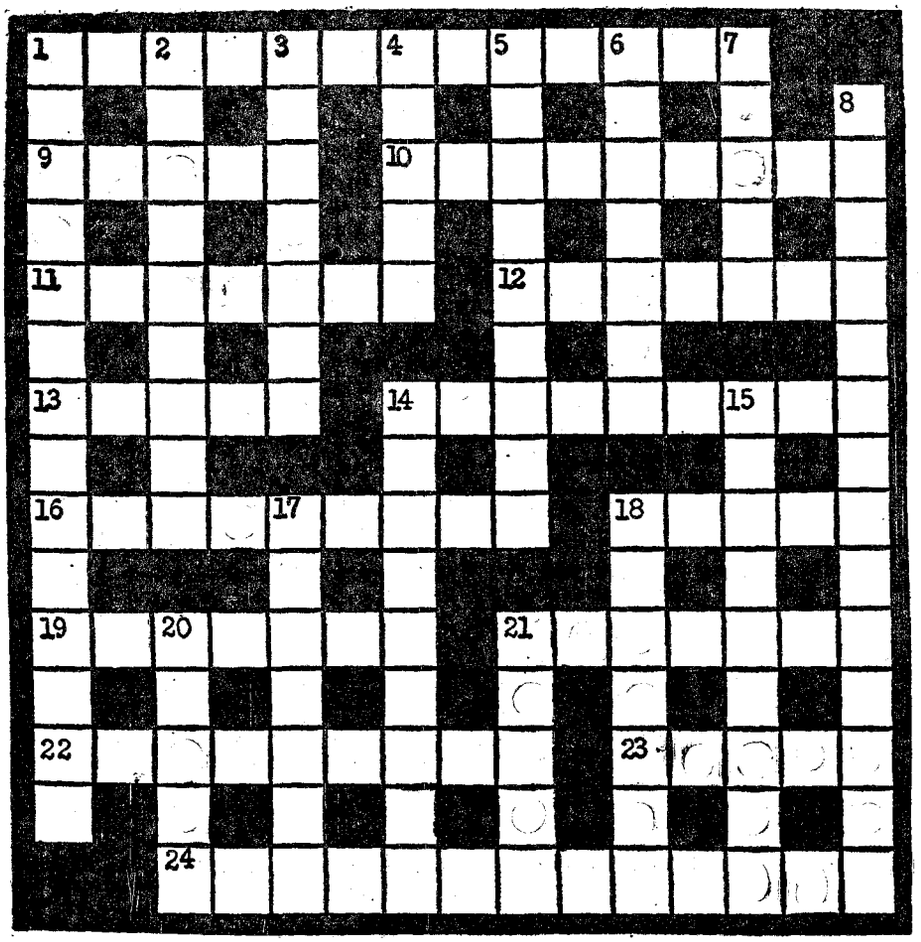
Why can't Mr. Dean go back to this ancient method of establishing friendly relations?

Burbank, Calif. JOHN MANNING

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 974

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1 Homer, perhaps, should have a message. (7, 6)
9 This might be rather *drôle*, but you'll probably get it. (5)
10 If one weren't loud, one might be only mischievous, but one of the deep sort. (9)
11 Baseball teams, or typified by the muses. (7)
12 It might be an inducement for continuing layers. (4, 3)
13 Tracks things in the shape of 12.
14 Sail on the ice in the fall? (9)
16 Not an illegal diamond operation, though hardly recommended for those in the traffic. (3-3-3)
18 Exhortation of the health faddist to be appropriate? (5)
19 Havelock Ellis said all civilization has from time to time become a thin crust over one of revolution. (7)
21 A name, it seems, for imbecility. (7)
22 Certainly not a telling description.
23 What many an old-time baseball player does sounds as though an option is expected. (5)
24 One might not expect to find the naval text gray out of bounds. (13)

DOWN:

1 Rather 22 but logical way to play a heart flush? (5, 2, 3, 4)
2 Not exactly essential for the Russian and German worker, perhaps.
3 Where one wouldn't expect to find 15 parking? (7)
4 What some go for in iridescence?
5 One assumes a Bach number did not spring from necessity, however. (9)
6 Secures for cause. (7)
7 In conclusion, 21 down and 22 should be rather simple. (5)
8 This novel doesn't imply the superweapon is at hand. (3, 5, 6)
14 Nothing in the manner of the chairman suggests such an instrument. (9)
15 Your car certainly won't be in the way here. (3-6)
17 A broken pledge might be the closest thing to it. (7)
18 Proving one rock makes another. (7)
20 Did the one referred to in 19 owe a good deal to this philosopher? (5)
21 Make a field of the compass point in space. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 973

ACROSS: 1 Incur; 4 Fit to kill; 9 Deauville; 10 Topic; 11 Diphthong; 12 Ilion; 13 Strychnine; 17 Stay-at-home; 21 Tower; 22 Larghetto; 23 Roost; 24 Enclosing; 25 Caparison; 26 Title. DOWN: 1 Iodide; 2 Cramps; 3 Revets; 4 Fallout shelters; 5 The Ugly American; 6 Outright; 7 Implicit; 8 Licenses; 14 Esoteric; 15 War whoop; 16 Narrator; 18 Throat; 19 Strict; 20 Goggle.

VACATIONS

ONLY 50 MILES FROM N.Y.C.

Beautiful 8 mile lake. Golf at a magnificent Country Club. Dancing, Entertainment. Superb Cuisine. Fireproof Bldg. Elevator. Special "single" weekends. Group facilities. In New York City call at local rate.

FAirbanks 5-7227
MAhopac 8-3449

FORESThouse
LAKE MAHOPAC, N. Y.

WINDY HILL ON ORANGE LAKE

A pleasantly informal vacation in friendly atmosphere. Swimming, Boating, Fishing on Natural Lake. Badminton, Volley Ball, Ping-pong, other sports. Records, books. Summer Theatre, Golf nearby. Food of excellent quality in generous quantity. $55.00 Weekly; $8.00 Daily; Weekend: Fri. Supper thru Sun. Dinner $16.
Tel. Newburgh 562-1232
Jane C. Arenz, R.D. Box 160, Walden, N.Y.

YOUR VACATION IS DUE! Relax on 100 beautiful acres. Lake on the premises. Wholesome food. Perfect for families. Animals for the children. Meet 30 other nice people. Adults $40, Children $25 per week. Y. Schwartz, Spring Mt. House, Jeffersonville, N.Y. Phone: Jeffersonville 290.

MERRIEWOODE
HIGHLAND LAKE, STODDARD, N. H.

Suggests that if you must have intelligent companionship, great beauty of environment, good food and plentiful, and things to do, MERRIEWOODE has them all to give.
We pledge all our facilities which include just about everything, to the success of your most important holiday. Non-sectarian. OLIVE 'Hattie' BARON, Director.
Marlow-Hilltop 6-3349

SITUATION WANTED

ADMINISTRATOR AND WRITER with long and varied experience; indignant about social injustice, seeks dedicated and constructive work with no-nonsense organization. Box 530, c/o The Nation.

PERSONALS

INDEPENDENT THINKERS — investigate HUMANISM, the nonsupernatural personal philosophy. Free literature. American Humanist Association, Dept. N2, Yellow Springs, Ohio.

MERCHANDISE FOR SALE

SPECIAL LOW PRICES After Labor Day on Air Conditioners; Refrigerators, Washing Machines; Vacuum Cleaners; etc. Standard Brand Dist., 27 Union Square, W. (3rd Floor) at 16th Street), N.Y. CH 2-1880.

Buy Your Books
through *The Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book (except paperbacks) at the regular retail price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the retail price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

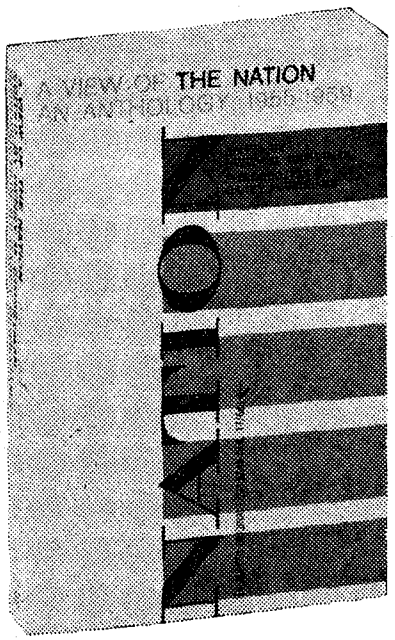
Please address your orders to

THE READER'S SERVICE DIVISION
333 Sixth Ave. New York 14, N.Y.

Printed in the U. S. A. by RCR Publication Printers Corp., N. Y. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Rewarding Our Friends



This handsome book, edited by Henry M. Christman and published by Grove Press, puts together in convenient form some of the best articles which have appeared in *The Nation* in the period 1955-1959.

Robert Fulford, book editor of the Toronto *Daily Star*, refers to the contents of the Anthology as "*The Nation's* fresh voice" and continues: "*A View of The Nation* . . . serves as a reminder that *The Nation*, at its best, is a very good magazine indeed."

The authors represented include J. Bronowski, Kenneth Burke, David Cort, George P. Elliott, Harry Golden, Robert Hatch, Josephine Herbst, Myron Lieberman, Carey McWilliams, Eve Merriam, Stanley Meisler, Walter Millis, Kenneth Rexroth, M. L. Rosenthal, Harvey Swados, Wade Thompson, Dan Wakefield and a host of others.

Usually, when a magazine distributes premiums, it does so not to its old friends, who have been reading the magazine for years, but to *new* subscribers—strangers who are thus rewarded for not having previously subscribed.

We think that's a peculiar way to be generous. We think *friends,* not *strangers,* ought to be rewarded. And so, now that we are prepared to distribute a FREE GIFT, *our present readers will be the beneficiaries.*

If, then, you are currently a *Nation* subscriber, you will qualify for a *FREE* copy of *A View of The Nation* IF YOU SEND US ONE NEW YEARLY GIFT SUBSCRIPTION for a friend, a member of your family—or for anyone else whom you think *The Nation* would interest and/or benefit.

Fill out the coupon below. Your copy of *A View of The Nation* will be sent to you immediately.

This offer is for a limited time only.
Act at once.

The NATION **333 Sixth Avenue** **New York 14, N.Y.**

Please send *The Nation* for one year as a gift to

Name ..... Address..... City..... Zone..... State.....

My Name is ..... Address..... City..... Zone..... State.....

☐ I enclose $8 ☐ Bill me

It is my understanding that you will send me FREE a copy of *A View of The Nation* for the above subscription, and that a gift card, bearing my name, will be mailed with the new subscription. 9-1-62

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED